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INDIA, AMERICA AND
WORLD BROTHERHOOD



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INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

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BY

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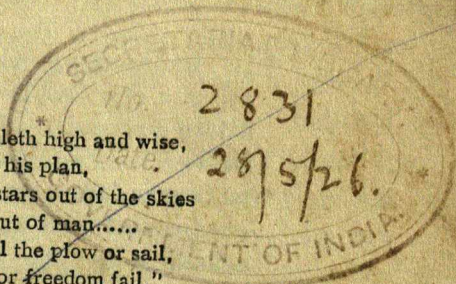
President of the India Information Bureau of America.

Author of "The Cause of Famines in India,"

"Rising Japan," "Religion and Evolution," etc.

"For he who ruleth high and wise,
Nor falters in his plan,
Will take the stars out of the skies
Ere freedom out of man.....
And what avail the plow or sail,
If land or life or freedom fail,"

—Emerson.



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"I do not believe God ever made any man or any nation good enough to rule any other man or any other nation."

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

"When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"In undertaking to crush out the attempt of a people long enslaved, to attain possession of itself, to organize its own laws and government, and to be free to follow its internal destinies according to its own ideals, we are crushing out the grandest thing in this great human world.....and we are helping to destroy faith in God and man."

Professor WILLIAM JAMES,
of Harvard University.





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AN EXPLANATORY FOREWORD

MORE than two years ago the publishers of this volume (Ganesh & Company, Madras), extended to me the honor of an invitation to furnish them matter for a book to be issued in India,—the contents and character of the same to be left wholly to me. My first thought was to decline, for what could I offer that would be likely to interest readers so far away? However, after some delay, I ventured to submit for the consideration of the publishers named, some of the subjects treated in the following pages, with the inquiries: Would these subjects be satisfactory? Would they be at all suitable for the Indian public? Promptly a cable message came back answering both inquiries in the affirmative. As a result this book was undertaken.

The long delay in finishing the volume and giving it to the public, is due wholly to myself. When I began my task I expected to be able to finish it in a few months. But unforeseen



duties have crowded upon me and prevented its completion until now. The kindness and patience of my publishers in waiting so long, have been great, for which I am under much obligation.

The question may very properly be asked : Why did I choose such subjects as those which this book contains ? I answer, the reason was, my deep and long-standing interest in India. I have been a constant student of Indian history, literature, religious faiths and political conditions, all my adult life, and have written and spoken much upon these themes in this country and in Canada. For this reason it seemed natural, if I was to offer a volume to the Indian people, that it should have some bearing upon Indian interests. I was actuated also by the desire to do something, if I might, to give to India and America a little better knowledge of each other, and to bring them into a little closer sympathy.

It will be observed that all the subjects considered in the volume are related to India in some degree,—those of *Part First* and *Part Third*, indirectly, and those in *Part Second*, directly.

The three chapters of *Part First* are devoted to three eminent Americans. But they are Americans whom I think India ought



to know; for two reasons. One is, they are representatives of democracy at its best; and India is interested in democracy. The other is, they were all, in their day, leaders in great struggles for freedom, and India is in the midst of a great struggle for Swaraj, which means freedom.

Abraham Lincoln, the first named, is a world-character. More and more all nations are coming to feel that he belongs to all humanity. He gave to the world what is perhaps its truest definition and highest ideal of democracy, as "government of the people, for the people, and by the people." While there is much government in the world calling itself democracy which falls far below this definition, yet I am sure Lincoln's ideal is the one which should everywhere be kept in mind. I trust and believe that it is the ideal toward which the true leaders of India are pressing.

William Lloyd Garrison, the second character named, was the most conspicuous, and I think I may add, the most heroic leader, in the great Anti-Slavery struggle in America, the struggle which was finally brought to an end by the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln, which freed all the Negro slaves held in bondage in the country, at that time numbering about four millions. The



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story of Garrison will always be an inspiration, a trumpet-call, a challenge, to fighters for every kind of freedom, in every land and in every age.

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, my third character, was one of the leaders (perhaps the most eminent leader) in America's long struggle to secure for woman emancipation from certain unjust and evil restrictions and bondages, and to give her a freer, larger and nobler life. India is in the midst of the same kind of a struggle in behalf of her women. Therefore the story of Mrs. Howe's life may well be suggestive and inspiring to the Indian people.

Part Second of the book, which is longer than either of the others, is devoted wholly and directly to India. Here there are seven chapters all of which deal with India's great struggle for freedom and nationhood. Regarding these chapters, I need only say here that while in them all I show my deep sympathy for India, I have earnestly endeavored to conduct my discussion in fairness, justice and candor, and in no spirit of hostility to Great Britain. I speak plainly, and say some things which, to sympathizers with British rule will doubtless seem severe. But I do not mean them to be severe, and I do not think they are so, in any other sense except that in which a surgeon is



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severe when he probes a wound with a desire to heal it. I am not England's enemy: I am her friend. I want no wrong done to her in India. But I also want her to do no wrong to India.

Part Third, in the book, consists of a single chapter, whose subject is "World-Wide Brotherhood." I have chosen this theme because I feel its importance to be very great to all nations and peoples; and also because I know it is dear to the best minds and hearts of India. No other country has produced so many great teachers of Brotherhood—Brotherhood wider than nation or race or religious creed, Brotherhood wide as humanity—as India has produced. To show how true this statement is, I need only mention the names of Buddha, Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi.

In justice to myself and to persons in India who may read the following pages, I think I ought to say, that it is not without much hesitation that I venture to present my thoughts regarding Indian problems to Indian readers, many of whom, I am aware, know more about Indian matters than it is possible for persons living at a distance to know, and therefore who can discuss these problems with far greater wisdom than I can possibly claim. I venture



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to speak—to present the thoughts contained in these chapters—because and only because I hope it may not be wholly without interest and service to the people of India to get the views and judgments of friendly minds who are looking on from a distance, who see with other than Indian eyes.

Probably this Explanatory Foreword ought not to be concluded without a further thought regarding the qualifications possessed by the author of this book (if he possesses any such) for writing about Indian questions.

As has been said already, India has been a subject to which he has given constant attention, thought and study during all his manhood years. There have been few books of importance upon India, particularly of a political character, published in England, America or India during the last forty years, that he has not read.

For thirty years past he has been a subscriber to and a regular reader of, never less than seven, and often ten, representative Indian periodicals published in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other centres,—thus keeping himself in close touch with the vigorous and able Indian periodical press. It has been his fortune to spend two winters in India (those of 1895-96 and 1913-14) during which he visited



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nearly all parts of the land, investigating social, religious and political conditions, and speaking in many cities. He also had the privilege of attending two annual meetings of the Indian National Congress, where he formed the acquaintance of many Indian leaders, with some of whom he has since had extended correspondence.

Perhaps as not least important, during the entire five years of the stay of Mr. Lajpat Rai in America (from 1914 to 1919) he had the privilege and honor of being intimately associated with that great Indian leader in work for India, reading the proofs of the three books written and published by him in this country, and writing the extended "Foreword" of the first, and when Mr. Rai returned to India, becoming editor of the monthly which he had established here, and President of the India Home Rule League of America and the India Information Bureau of New York.

J. T. SUNDERLAND

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PART FIRST



INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

PART FIRST

CHAPTER I

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

NO MAN of modern times is more truly a world-character than is Abraham Lincoln. Freedom-loving men and women, of all lands, and all nations, love and honor him. The reason why is plain. All peoples are moving toward democracy, and Lincoln has come to be widely recognized as the most conspicuous and truly representative prophet and standard-bearer of democracy that the modern world has produced.

More and more it is coming to be the verdict of men best qualified to judge, in all lands, that the only possible foundation for just government is "the consent of the governed." Everything indicates that civilized men



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will sooner or later, but inevitably, repudiate all political authority which they themselves have not created or affirmed, and will ultimately be content with nothing short of that form of government described by Lincoln as "of the people, for the people, and by the people."

Something more than half a century ago Abraham Lincoln said:—"No man is good enough to rule another man, and no nation is good enough to rule another nation. For a man to rule himself is liberty; for a nation to rule itself is liberty. But for either to rule another is tyranny. If any nation robs another nation of its freedom it does not deserve freedom for itself, and under a just God it will not long retain it." That word was spoken in America. But it applies also to every nation and every people.

Great Britain claims that she is ruling the people of India for their benefit; that it is best for them to be in subjection to a 'superior nation,' and that she is giving them all the freedom that is good for them. It is interesting to recall that in the days of American slavery slave-owners made exactly the same claim regarding those they held in bondage. In one of his famous speeches (July 1858, Chicago) Abraham Lincoln, replying to this claim, said:



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“ These are the same arguments that kings have put forth for enslaving the people in all ages of the world....Turn it whatever way you will, whether it comes from the mouth of a king, or from the mouth of men of one race as a reason for their enslaving the men of some other race, it is the same old serpent. They all say that they bestride the necks of the people not because they want to do this but because the people are so much better off for being thus ridden. You work and I eat. You toil and I will enjoy the fruits of your toil. The arguments are the same and the bondage is the same.”

I

It may seem that many Lincolns must come and go, must prophesy and be sacrificed, before this ideal of freedom will be fully realized. For those of us, however, who love this ideal, the life of this great leader holds much of interest. It may well be an inspiration to India.

Born in Kentucky, a pioneer Southern State, and spending his youth and early manhood in Illinois a pioneer State of the new West, just in process of reclamation from the wilderness,



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Abraham Lincoln received little of that kind of education which is obtained in school houses, and none of that given by colleges and universities.

His parents were humble folk, as humble as the parents of Burns, or Luther, or Jesus. And his sympathies were always with the people from whom he sprang. Perhaps this is one of the reasons he is so widely loved. Fortunately even in his poverty he had access to a few books, some of them great books. And how much more valuable for child or man, is one great book than a whole library of insignificant and ephemeral productions such as so many of us are tempted to spend our time upon to-day! Two of the great books over which he pored in his boyhood, in the field by day and before the log fire in his cabin home at night, were the Bible and Shakespeare. These and the work he had to do—these, and the stern experiences of his early years—were his university.

Arriving at manhood, he did whatever came to hand to be done in that pioneer life. He felled the forest trees, and cleared the land and plowed it, planted and harvested crops and split rails for fences and built log cabins. He helped to build flat-boats, too, for trade purposes, and piloted them down the Sangamon river to



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the Illinois, down the Illinois river to the Mississippi, and down the Mississippi to New Orleans. For a time he was clerk in a store. Later he was part owner of a store, but this venture was a failure and left him with a debt on his hands, through an absconding partner. He might have evaded this debt, as more than one advised him to do, but he would not. It took him fourteen years of hard work and much sacrifice to pay it, but he paid it every cent. I speak of this because it was typical of the man, and indicates why men came early to believe in him—first his neighbors and then the whole nation.

For three or four years he was postmaster in a little village. It was jokingly said of him that he was himself the post-office, and carried the mail in his hat. For a few months he was a volunteer in the Black Hawk Indian war. No actual fighting fell to his lot, but he got some valuable experiences in association with men. How he was even then beginning to be regarded by those around him is indicated by the fact that his company elected him its captain.

At the age of twenty-five, Lincoln was chosen to represent his district in the lower house of the Illinois State Legislature, where



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he served three terms. This, too, was a valuable experience. The standing he attained in the legislature is evidenced by the fact that he was the candidate of his party for the Speakership. A little later he was elected to the National House of Representatives, in Washington. Here he showed where he stood regarding slavery, already a burning question throughout the country, by introducing into the House a bill for its abolition in the District of Columbia.

II

During these early years Lincoln studied law and obtained admission to the bar. For more than twenty-five years he carried on his profession, steadily rising in it until he occupied a foremost position in his State. It is worth while briefly to notice his qualities as a lawyer because they throw much light upon his character and go far toward accounting for his later success as a political leader.

As a legal practitioner he had three marked characteristics.

First, in all his thinking and speaking he was wonderfully clear. He gathered his facts with exactness, thought out his cases with



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great thoroughness, and had the power to state them with remarkable simplicity. As a result, the very lucidity often carried conviction to the minds of the jury. Second, he had a fine vein of humor and was an extraordinarily good story teller, and these gifts he knew how to use with consummate skill in making his pleas. And, third, he took the highest stand regarding honesty and honor in his profession. He would stoop to no tricks. Nothing could induce him to sell his service to a man he believed to be a rogue. He would not try to clear the guilty. He would do his best to see that nobody suffered who was innocent, and if a man was guilty he would endeavor to prevent his receiving unjust punishment; but he would never employ his talents to defeat the ends of what he believed to be justice. The result was that judges and juries everywhere learned to rely upon his statements and to trust him, all of which gave him an enormous advantage.

Still further, he always discouraged litigation and advised people to settle their difficulties peaceably if possible. He indignantly repudiated the idea that honesty is not compatible with successful practice at the bar. And he proved the contrary in his own life. To a young man contemplating the legal



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profession, he said:—"If you do not believe that you can be an honest lawyer, then resolve to be honest without being a lawyer. Choose some other occupation rather than one in the choosing of which you, in advance, confess yourself to be a knave." But he strenuously contended that lawyers need not be knaves; but may attain success—the highest success—with scrupulous integrity and honor throughout their career.

All through the years of his legal practice Lincoln did a great deal of political speaking. From the first he was popular and widely sought for. His characteristics as a speaker were much the same that marked him as a lawyer, namely—absolute candor and fairness; wonderfully clear thinking which went straight as an arrow to the heart of every question under discussion; ability to state his thought with a simplicity and lucidity that compelled the dullest mind to understand, and at the same time a force of statement and delivery that carried everything before it. His great heart and his great sympathy with the people, too, were important elements in his popular power. And his stories and his humor were as effective here as in the court-room.



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III

He was particularly effective in political debates, and these became increasingly popular. There were a number of men of marked ability in the State at that time, some of them of national fame. Perhaps the most conspicuous of these was Stephen A. Douglass, who for years represented Illinois in the United States Senate and became an acknowledged leader in that body. The most famous of Lincoln's debates was with Douglass, in 1858. Each debater was a foeman worthy of the other's steel. The two men met for joint discussion in seven of the most important political centres of the State, the question at issue being the one then agitating the whole country—Ought slavery to be extended into the new territories? It is doubtful if abler political speaking was ever heard in America, or on a theme more exciting or felt to be more vital to the nation's existence. It not only drew great crowds and deeply stirred the whole State, but it also attracted attention all over the nation. From that time on, Lincoln was a national character. Men began to predict for him the highest things, and to mention his name in connection with the Presidency. Two years later, in



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1860, he was nominated for this office, the highest within the gift of the people, and was elected by a very decisive majority.

The time was one of crisis—of tremendous national crisis over the subject of slavery. The Southern States of the nation had long held negro slaves, had found slavery financially profitable, and had defended it as right, indeed as a divine institution supported by the Bible. On the other hand, in the Northern States there was no slavery, although formerly there had been. While the country was a group of colonies under British Rule, before their separation from the mother nation, slavery was practically universal. But gradually there had arisen a public sentiment against it, as inhuman and wrong. By the time of the Declaration of Independence most of the colonies in the North had freed their slaves, and it was a question warmly debated when the new Nation was founded and a National Constitution was adopted, whether slavery should or should not be everywhere prohibited. But slavery still existed in the South and was popular there; and so it was left undisturbed.

This was a mistake. It planted a seed of contention, of antagonism, in the very heart of the Nation. Conscientious men and women,



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especially in the North, more and more asked the questions: Was it right for the Southern States to continue to hold human beings in bondage? When slaves escaped, as many did, from the South into the free states of the North, was it right for the northern authorities to give them up and allow them to be forcibly taken back into slavery? Was it right to allow slavery to be introduced into the new territories of the West, which were being settled and admitted into the National Union as new States? These were questions that could not be silenced. As a result, the two sections of the country became growingly distrustful of one another and to an extent hostile, and there began to be a talk in some of the Southern States of separation, of secession from the Union, so that they might be free to retain their "sacred institution."

For many years before the election of Lincoln to the Presidency, there had been a strong Anti-Slavery Party in the North. Although he was not himself directly connected with it, yet he was strongly in sympathy with its general principles, and hence his election was regarded as an anti-slavery victory. Indeed, the leading issue of the election campaign (and it was a very burning issue) was the



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question of whether slavery should be allowed in the new territories. On this question Lincoln said no, with a voice the most eloquent and convincing of any man in the Nation. As a consequence of his election there was tremendous excitement all over the South, and threats of secession multiplied fast. Of course, if these threats were carried out, such an action on the part of the South would mean war; all understood that. With all his soul Lincoln hated war. If any human being could have prevented that four years of bloodshed that followed, it seemed indeed that he was the man. But party feeling ran so high, the relations between North and South had become so greatly strained, that even Lincoln's offer that the Government should buy the freedom of every slave could not avert the crisis.

The South would not brook any interference with slavery, and would not be reconciled. It raised an army, captured a government fort and began military operations in several quarters. A number of States formally withdrew from the Federal Union and set up a government of their own. Thus an armed conflict was begun.

At the beginning of the second year of the war, Lincoln issued the proclamation of



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emancipation of every slave in the land. Taking the initiative in this way, he disconcerted and discouraged the South, united the factions in the North, and opened an important new source of recruits for the Northern army through the enlistment of negro troops.

Toward the close of the war came the second candidacy of Lincoln for the Presidency with a tremendous effort made by the combined forces of disloyalty and timidity to defeat him on the ground that the war was a failure and should be stopped at once, and that the independence of the seceding States should be recognized. But the great heart of the North was true to the National Union and to the cause of freedom for the slave. Lincoln was triumphantly re-elected. And from this time on hope sprang up in every heart. Victories in the field multiplied. It was evident that the end of the terrible war could not be far off.

When at last peace was declared, the word rang across the land like a message from heaven, and there was rejoicing as if the whole nation had been released from prison. Thanksgiving rose to God from millions of hearts for the unspeakable blessing of peace,—peace with the Nation one and undivided, and free forever from the terrible curse of human slavery.



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But alas ! In an hour, in a moment, all was changed ! Noon became midnight. The sun seemed turned to darkness in the mid-heavens. Lincoln was dead, assassinated ! One can hardly imagine the shock, the grief that fell upon the Nation's heart.

Walt Whitman has described that black moment, likening the Nation to a ship, with Lincoln as her captain ; this ship has had a voyage of terrible storms and dangers, but at last all are surmounted and she has reached port in safety, and there is joy in every heart. But stop ! Suddenly, amid the rejoicing, the cry is raised from white lips—"Where is he, the stout heart, the Captain, to whose courage the success of the voyage is due ?"

"O Captain ! My Captain ! Our fearful trip is done,

The ship has weathered every rack, the prize we sought is won ;

The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,

While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and daring ;

But O heart ! heart ! heart !

The bleeding drops of red,

Where on the deck my Captain lies

Fallen cold and dead !



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O Captain! My Captain! Rise up and hear the
bells;

Rise up—for you the flag is flung—for you the
bugle thrills.

For you bouquets and ribbon'd wreaths—for you
the shores a-crowding,

For you they call—the swaying mass, their
eager faces turning ;

Here Captain! dear father!

This arm beneath your head!

It is some dream that on the deck

You've fallen cold and dead.

My Captain does not answer, his lips are pale
and still;

My father does not feel my arm, he has no pulse
nor will.

The ship is anchored safe and sound, its voyage
closed and done,

From fearful trip the victor ship comes in with
object won.

Exult, O shores, and ring, O bells!

But I with mournful tread

Walk the deck where my Captain lies,

Fallen cold and dead!"



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IV

The country's shock and grief was not merely because a President had been taken away ; but because the man struck down was one whom a whole nation had learned to love and trust, whom everyone had come to regard as above all others the Nation's savior. Nor was the mourning confined to the North. Throughout the long and terrible experiences of the war evidence had come in a thousand ways to the people of the South that the great heart at the head of the Nation in Washington cared equally for them and that he saved them suffering in every way in his power, and was their truest friend. And so from many eyes in the South as well as in the North, sincere tears fell over this loss that the whole land had suffered.

As we look back upon events now, it is hard to tell whether the death of Lincoln at that time was not an even greater calamity to the South than to the North. In the long and difficult task of reconstruction in the South, of helping the States so sadly devastated by war to rebuild their homes, to re-establish their industries, to recover from the awful losses



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which they had suffered, and to take their places once more as integral parts of the Nation—in all this work no one would have been so wise, so just, so large-minded, so considerate, of the needs and the feelings of the Southern people, as would Lincoln if only he had been spared. How many injustices he would have prevented, how many wounds he would have healed !

And besides this, no one else would have so wisely befriended and helped the newly freed negroes as would the man who freed them. It is not strange therefore that the negroes felt his loss to be an irreparable one, and mourned him with a sorrow that words could not express.

Though the Southern States fought to retain slavery and gave it up only when forced to do so by the bitter arbitrament of the sword, yet what they then felt to be so terrible a loss turned out to be really a great gain, an unspeakable good. Nearly all white people in the South now see this, and frankly admit it. If the opportunity were offered them to restore slavery, they would not do it. Thus out of their very defeat there came a blessing—of a kind that they could not then foresee, and greater than they even yet fully under-



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stand, a blessing not only to them, but to their children, and their children's children.

“God's ways seem dark but soon or late
They touch the shining hills of day.”

V

And if the abolition of slavery was a benefit to the white population, it was, of course, of still greater benefit to the colored. It changed their whole status. From being mere chattels, things bought and sold, it made them human beings, opening to them for the first time the possibility of becoming fully developed men and women. When first liberated, they were, of course, scarcely wiser or more capable of self-direction than children. Slavery had kept them irresponsible, and would have continued to arrest their development. The white citizens, who were stronger and wiser than they because of the superior advantages they had so long enjoyed, ought to have taken them by the hand as soon as the war was over, and should have helped them in every way until they became able to stand on their own feet and direct their own lives. A few did this, but with the majority there was much bitter feeling against these poor men and women who had already been so grievously



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sinned against in their long bondage, and there was much friction instead of friendliness.

And yet, with even so little assistance as they have received, what wonderful advance these slaves of yesterday have already made! Instead of being disappointed that they have not accomplished more, when we look at the facts before us we may well be amazed that they have achieved so much. Tens of thousands of men and women in adult life taught themselves to read and write. All over the land, their children are in school. Everywhere they are proving themselves to be increasingly industrious, careful for the future, and as a result everywhere they are becoming owners of property, of homes, of workshops, farms, mills, stores, industries of various kinds, and even of banks. A wonderful work has been done for the colored people through their own leaders such as Booker Washington, and through such schools of their own as the Tuskegee Institute—schools that are training thousands of young men and women to go out through all parts of the South to teach others of their race, not only to read and write, but equally to work with their hands, to be shoemakers and blacksmiths, to carry on farming and market-gardening in improved ways, to spin and weave



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and sew and cook and care properly for their homes and their children. If Abraham Lincoln were alive to-day and could see all this, how profoundly he would rejoice !

Speaking at the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, Dr. Robert P. Moton, who is now President of Tuskegee Institute and has in many other ways taken Booker Washington's place as a leader of his people, said, as representative of the colored citizens of America: "In all this vast assemblage there can be none more grateful to Abraham Lincoln than are the twelve million black Americans who devoutly honor him as the author of their freedom. There is no question that Abraham Lincoln died to save the Union; but he also died to free the slaves of America. Some may ask—Has his sacrifice been justified? Has his martyrdom brought forth any worthy fruits? I speak for the Negro race when I say that my people love their country and have endeavoured to serve it in peace as faithfully as in war. In spite of the many difficulties under which they have labored, in spite of many limitations within and restrictions without, they have been one of the country's greatest assets in developing its resources of nearly every kind. The



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industry, integrity and thrift of the Negro people have, in the comparatively short space of sixty years of freedom, acquired the ownership of more than 22,000,000 acres of land, 600,000 homes, and 45,000 churches. Negroes also own 68 banks, 100 insurance companies and 50,000 business enterprises, with a capital of more than \$ 150,000,000. Besides all this there are within the race in this country 60,000 professional men, 44,000 school teachers and some four hundred newspapers and magazines. The general illiteracy of the Negro people has been reduced to about twenty per cent. And still my people are, I believe, only at the threshold of their true development; so that if anything on earth could justify the sacrifice of so great a man as Lincoln, it is this, that a race possessing such capacity for advancement, has taken fullest advantage of its freedom to develop its latent powers. Surely, a race that has produced a Frederick Douglas in the midst of slavery, and a Booker Washington in the aftermath of reconstruction, has justified its emancipation."



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VI

Adequately to understand Lincoln's high character and his service to the world as well as to his own country, we must consider a few other aspects and qualities, besides those that made it possible for him to take the leadership in the time of struggle for freedom of the Negro. He believed in liberty for all men ; he watched with eager sympathy the struggle in his time for popular government in Hungary, Poland, and other countries ; his interest was on the side of the oppressed everywhere. If he were alive to-day I believe no man would be more profoundly interested than he in India's just struggle for freedom and nationhood.

He would also be earnestly in sympathy with India in her heroic efforts to free herself from the curse of intoxicating liquors and opium. Throughout his life, Lincoln was an ardent supporter of the cause of temperance. He saw in the habit of drink a slavery almost as terrible as the chattel-slavery of the Negroes, and he was consistent and courageous enough to make himself equally the opponent of both. In public life as well as in private, even when he was at the head of the nation, he never touched any kind of intoxicating drink. Thus



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by his example and in every other way that he could, he threw his influence against this terrible evil which destroys so many lives. On the very day of his assassination, Lincoln, in conversation with a life-long friend, said:—"Our next great work, with the help of the whole country, will be the overthrow of the legalized liquor traffic. My heart, my mind, my hand and my purse will go into that work. In 1842, less than a quarter of a century ago, you remember I predicted that there would come a day when there would be neither a slave nor a drunkard in all this land. I have lived to see one prediction fulfilled. I hope it will not be long before the other is realized."

VII

Abraham Lincoln was a deeply religious man, though not in the usually accepted sense of that term. He cared little for forms and ceremonies, and nothing at all for the current creeds. But for the deep things of religion—justice, mercy, truth and love, and the sincere worship of the heart, for these he cared profoundly. His faith may perhaps be best described as Liberal Christianity. The religious writer whose works he read with most interest



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and agreement was the great Unitarian preacher, Theodore Parker, from whom he borrowed that felicitous phrase which he afterwards made immortal—"Government of the people, for the people, by the people."

It was no accident that Lincoln was a liberal in religion. He recognised that a man cannot consistently believe in political freedom without believing in all kinds of freedom, in every department of human life. A democratic State implies a State of free souls, and free souls must always elevate reason and conscience (God's voice within) to an authority above all external and material things, whether creeds or ecclesiastical decrees or sacred books or traditions. During the time of his presidency, Lincoln said of himself: "I have never united myself with any church because I have found difficulty in giving my assent without much mental reservation, to the long, complicated statements of Christian doctrine which characterize the usual confessions of faith. When any church will inscribe over its altar as its sole qualification for membership, the teaching of Jesus in which he summed up all religion—'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul, and thy neighbor as thyself,' that church I will



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join with all my heart and with all my soul.”
As a matter of fact, he belonged to the greatest and best of all churches, the unseen church of the Spirit, wider than any creed or ecclesiastical organization, of which it has been written :—

“ Her priests are all God’s faithful sons,
To serve the world raised up ;
The pure in heart her baptized ones,
Love her communion cup.
The truth is her prophetic gift,
The soul her sacred page ;
And feet on mercy’s errands swift
Do make her pilgrimage.”

VIII

Lincoln is often spoken of as a teller of stories, chiefly humorous stories. This is true. But his humor was never of a trivial character. Humor was his relaxation. And with all his seriousness, he knew the great value of relaxation. Without this ability, this means of relief, the tremendous load of care and responsibility that he carried, especially throughout the war, would have crushed him. Except for his ability to turn aside occasionally from the strain of the affairs of State, on which hung so many lives and the fate of his country, he would doubtless have succumbed mentally as





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well as physically to the burdens of that terrible time.

Perhaps it may prove of interest if I note the fact, gradually becoming more widely known, that Lincoln was a great master in the use of the English language, really a great literary artist, the possessor of a style in speech and writing that ranks with the best in our language. This is the more remarkable considering the fact of his origin and lack of schooling.

Edwin Markham, himself a man of the soil, a blacksmith by trade in his early years, but now ranking among our most virile poets, has written of Lincoln :

“The color of the ground was in him, the red
earth,

The tang and odor of the primal things ;
The rectitude and patience of the rocks ;
The gladness of the wind that shakes the corn ;
The courage of the bird that dares the sea ;
The pity of the snow that hides all scars ;
The loving kindness of the wayside wall ;
The tolerance and equity of light,
Giving as freely to the shrinking weed
As to the great oak flaring to the wind—
To the grave's low hill as to the Matterhorn
That shoulders out the sky.....



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And so he came.

From prairie cabin up to Capitol,
One fair ideal led our chieftain on.
Forever more he burned to do his deed,
With the fine stroke and gesture of a king.
He built the rail-pile as he built the State,
Pouring his splendid strength through every
blow,

The conscience of him testing every stroke,
To make his deed the measure of a man.
So came the Captain with the mighty heart;
And when the step of earthquake shook the
house,

Wresting the rafters from their ancient hold,
He held the ridgepole up and spiked again
The framework of the Home. He held his
place—

Held the long purpose like a growing tree—
Held on through blame and faltered not at
praise.

And when he fell in whirlwind, he went down
As when a kingly cedar, green with boughs,
Goes down with a great shout upon the hills,
And leaves a lonesome place against the sky."

Lincoln was a great president because he was called to lead his nation at a time of great issues, was given a greater task than was ever required of any other American president (with



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the possible exception of Wilson) and brought to his task a wisdom of experience, a seasoned judgment, a largeness of view and depth of insight, a patience and sympathy with all classes and kinds of people, a personality to control men and their actions, which are, I think, unsurpassed in American history.

What an asset do the people of America possess, what an asset does humanity as a whole possess, what an asset do the people of India possess, in the teachings and the example of this great democrat, this mighty lover of freedom and humanity, this man of the people, who lived so near to the people, believed in them, loved them, trusted them, who drew his highest inspiration from the people, whose loftiest ambition was to serve the people, and who lived and died that "government of the people, for the people, and by the people might not perish from the earth!"



CHAPTER II

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

IT is inspiring to see, standing at the head of every issue of one of the most prominent periodicals of India, the following words of Garrison:

“ I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest, I will not equivocate, I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard.”

This historic utterance of the great American Liberator may well be taken as a motto by the people of India in their great and just struggle for national freedom.

William Lloyd Garrison was born in 1804 in Massachusetts, a State (in the northern part of the American Union) which had already abolished slavery. Before he was twenty years old he had entered upon his anti-slavery work, which covered more than forty years—until, indeed, the need for it ceased with the Emancipation Proclamation of Lincoln in 1863. Certainly if ever there was a complete life, it was Garrison's. One may search history



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through without finding another man upon whom was laid so arduous a task, undertaken so early, pursued so inflexibly, and amid such crowding and seemingly insurmountable difficulties, and yet who triumphed so truly at last.

Never did soldier set out upon a campaign that appeared more hopeless than seemed the anti-slavery cause in America when Garrison enlisted in it. Never were invincible courage, unyielding perseverance, tireless toil, more splendidly successful at last.

In almost every aspect of Mr. Garrison's career, it is worthy of study not only by his own countrymen but by all who battle for human freedom and human progress the world over.

I

His parents were poor and throughout his youth he experienced many hardships. At ten, he was apprenticed to a shoe-maker. Not liking this kind of work, three years later he was apprenticed to a cabinet maker. But this also failed to engage his interest, and when he was about eighteen he secured employment in a printing office. This work proved more congenial. Though his education was very limited, he had, by diligence and economy of



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his time, contrived to read many of the best books, and had made himself familiar with the outstanding characters and events of history.

He soon began to contribute articles of his own to the paper whose type he was setting, without, however, disclosing their authorship; but these met with such public favor as to suggest that his life-work had been found at last.

Garrison had somewhat brief connections with several different papers, first as contributor and later as editor. His first editorial was a characteristic Garrison challenge, announcing that his paper would be entirely independent in the most thorough and comprehensive sense of that word; that it would be trammelled by no special interest, biased by no sect or faction, awed by no power. He announced that he had three main objects in view—"the suppression of intemperance and its associate vices, the emancipation of every slave in the Republic, and the perpetuity of national peace," and to these ends he would devote his life, wherever he might be.

His real anti-slavery work began, however, with his going to Baltimore, one of the large cities of the South, as assistant editor of a paper published by Benjamin Lundy, a writer



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and lecturer who had for years labored with great energy and devotion to influence public sentiment. The title of this paper was "The Genius of Universal Emancipation."

In this new field Garrison, whose life until then had been spent in the non-slave holding North, was at once brought into close personal contact with the slavery of the South in many of its most revolting aspects. The inter-state slave trade, of which Baltimore was an important centre, particularly shocked him, and an incident in connection with this called out his sternest rebuke. The captain of a vessel (which, Garrison was appalled to learn, was owned by a Massachusetts man) took a cargo of slaves from Baltimore to New Orleans—a city still further South and a great slave market. This was a common occurrence in the traffic between these two cities, but it was the first time that Garrison had witnessed such a thing, and it burned itself into his consciousness. His subsequent editorial denunciation was so severe, that both a criminal and a civil suit were brought against him. Tried in a pro-slavery city, by a pro-slavery judge and jury, conviction was a foregone conclusion. He was fined, also sentenced to imprisonment. But that a man should be condemned and punished



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for merely expressing an opinion, for simply speaking on behalf of freedom and against oppression, aroused widespread feeling and protest throughout the country, and considerable sympathy for Garrison was expressed. He went to prison but remained there only forty-nine days, Arthur Tappan, a wealthy New York merchant and philanthropist, volunteering to pay the fine.

This experience confirmed Garrison in his determination to give his life, with every energy of body and mind, to the work of wiping the stain of slavery from every State in the Union. One of his biographers writes:—"This young Knight of Freedom, in all the fervor of ingenuous youth, with his Bible open before him, solemnly consecrated himself to the task of delivering the slaves from their bondage and his country from her greatest crime and curse. And the consciousness of a purpose so high, undertaken in humble dependence upon God, and from an intense sympathy with an oppressed and outlawed race, gave him something of the majesty of a prophet, which men of kindred spirit were quick to discern and could never forget."

Even from his cell in the Baltimore jail he sent a letter arraigning both the arbitrary



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conduct of the Court, and the Law as well. "Is it," he asked. "supposed by Judge Brice" (the judge who sentenced him) "that his frowns can intimidate me or his sentence stifle my voice on the subject of oppression? He does not know me. So long as good Providence gives me strength and intellect I will not cease to declare that the existence of slavery in this country is a foul reproach to the American name; nor will I hesitate to proclaim the guilt of kidnappers, slavery-abettors and slave-owners wherever they may reside or however high they may be exalted. I am only in the alphabet of my task. Time shall perfect a useful work. It is my shame that I have done so little for the people of color; yea, before God I feel humbled that my feelings are so cold and my language so weak. A free white victim must be sacrificed to open the eyes of the nation and to show the tyranny of our laws. I expect, and am willing, to be persecuted, imprisoned, and bound, for advocating the rights of my colored countrymen; and I should deserve to be a slave myself if I shrank from that danger."

This was the spirit in which William Lloyd Garrison began his forty years of toil in the anti-slavery cause. This was the spirit of that



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whole devoted band of anti-slavery men and women who, as the years went on, gathered to his support. Such a spirit, with right and justice on its side, could not fail to triumph in the end, even though all of earth and hell were opposed.

II

Surprise has sometimes been expressed that so late as the middle of the nineteenth century, any civilized and enlightened people—as Americans claimed to be—should have sought to retain so iniquitous an institution as that of human slavery. But it is not what we claim to be, but what we are, in essence and in fibre, that always asserts itself when our material interests are threatened. In the practical lives of the majority of humanity, tradition, habit, custom, are always more potent factors than intelligent consideration, thought, opinions based on first-hand knowledge.

As a matter of fact, human bondage, slavery in some form, is as old as history and as widespread as the world itself. The culture of ancient Greece and Rome and other countries was based on the assumption that slavery was right and good. This, however, was not in



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harmony with the feeling and teaching of the very best and highest minds in the world even in ancient times. Certainly it was not in harmony with the teachings of Buddha in India or Jesus in Palestine. Buddha taught human brotherhood, which is utterly incompatible with slavery in any form or withholding any class of human beings in any kind of degradation. Jesus also taught human brotherhood. He said "The Kingdom of heaven is in all"; "The last shall be first"; "God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the mighty"; "the greatest among you is he who serves". But in the time of Garrison many Americans, calling themselves Christians, strangely forgot these teachings. They opposed and tried to silence the man who preached these things, and who declared them to be as true to-day as they were nineteen centuries ago, and as important in America as in Palestine. In their actions they betrayed the life and teachings of Him whose name they bore,—just as so many Christians in many other lands and ages have done.

Organized Christianity, as such, has not yet accomplished much toward the abolition of human bondage in the world, whether political bondage, social bondage, industrial



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bondage, or intellectual and spiritual bondage. The same is true of most other established religions. This is all wrong. Religion ought to be a great liberator; not an enslaver. It ought to be in sympathy with freedom, with enlightenment, with progress,—not a hinderer of the world's advance. The world must have better religions. Not only Christianity but every religion must be reformed and purified; all must be purged of their tyrannical and oppressive teachings, their superstitions, their outgrown elements, their lifeless forms, their low conceptions of God and their imperfect morality. These things must be put away as things of the past; as things of childhood, which manhood and womanhood must leave behind. Christianity and all other religions must keep the best that is in them, and only the best. They must build on the teachings of their highest and noblest prophets, and gurus. Then Christianity and all other religious faiths will no longer be, as they are now, partly blessings to humanity and partly curses, partly helps to the world's higher life and partly a hindrance; but then they will be wholly good, wholly allies of progress, wholly morally uplifting powers among men.



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One wonders that an institution so cruel and so evil as human slavery has been allowed to continue in the world so long. In its worst forms it seems to have persisted longer in Europe and America than among the leading nations of Asia. During what are known as the Middle Ages in Europe, chattel-slavery passed into the modified form of serfdom, which persisted in France until the Revolution of 1789; in Germany until well into the 19th century; and in Russia until about 1860.

Perhaps it may be of interest just here to note that Negro slavery was introduced into America by the Spanish and Portuguese, the discoverers and first exploiters of the country, whose supreme desire was to obtain wealth. At first they compelled the native Americans (the "Red men") to work in the mines, but they died in such great numbers under the hardships and cruelties inflicted on them by their European masters, that their employment proved neither practicable nor profitable. It was then that the hardier natives of Africa were imported and what is known as the slave-trade began—that is, the forcible capture and transportation of Africans to America—a terrible traffic in which England and other European countries joined and which



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continued on down to and into the nineteenth century.

In practically all of the thirteen colonies which revolted against Great Britain in 1776 (and later formed the United States) slavery existed and was legally recognised. There was, however, even then some opposition to its spread, and George Washington, in his will, ordered the emancipation of all slaves who belonged to him. Nearly all the other revolutionary leaders—Franklin, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, Patrick Henry—looked upon slavery as an evil and desired its abolition. In the convention which drafted the Constitution for the new nation, the sentiment was strongly against it, and but for the opposition of two of the Southern States (South Carolina and Georgia) it would probably have been done away with at that time.

Gradually it was found in the Northern States, with their long, hard winters, that African labor was not profitable; the negro thrived only in a warm climate. For this and other reasons slavery was given up in these States. In the Southern States, however, it continued; and even in the North there were individual men who continued to own slave-



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trading vessels on the sea, and shares in slave-worked plantations in the South.

III

Garrison did not remain long in Baltimore. His views and those of Benjamin Lundy were not quite in harmony, and he became convinced that he could do better work if he had a paper of his own. In August 1830, when he was twenty-six years of age, he issued proposals for the publication of a journal in the city of Washington (the national capital) to be called *The Liberator*. To raise money for this purpose, he made a lecture tour through the principal cities of the North, during which he gradually became convinced that a Northern rather than a Southern city was the proper place for his venture. The mass of the people in the North were better educated and more intelligent than the majority in the South; free discussion would find a better soil in the North where new ideas were more hospitably received; at that time Boston was regarded as the literary centre of the country, whence new ideas could more readily be disseminated.

So Garrison determined at whatever hazard, to raise the standard of freedom there within sight of Bunker Hill and in the very



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birth-place of American liberty. He began the publication of *The Liberator* without a single subscriber. Says one of his early co-workers:—"For a year and a half he and his partner Isaac Knapp, were compelled by their poverty to sleep at night on the floor of their printing-office (which Harrison Gray Otis, then mayor of Boston, in a letter to the mayor of a Southern city, called 'an obscure hole') and to subsist on bread and milk, cakes and fruit, obtained from a neighbouring shop. Many times did I see Mr. Garrison and his partner busy at type-setting or in working off their paper on a hand-press, a negro boy their only visible auxiliary. But they never complained nor were they for a moment discouraged."

One of our poets* has described the situation in very graphic language:—

"It is late in the evening.

In a dingy little attic room by the feeble light of a lamp a young workman of resolute and engaging countenance is setting up type for the first number of his journal.

An old-fashioned hand-press stands beside him; the floor is bespattered with printer's ink.

The type is second-hand and worn; the paper was bought on credit; the rent is unpaid; the

* Ernest Crosby.



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youthful editor has neither money nor influence nor friends, nor as yet a single subscriber.

At his elbow his supper awaits him—a loaf of bread and a glass of milk, the only food he can afford to buy.

When he has finished his day's work he will sleep there on the floor in the corner.

The world outside is thinking of Presidents and Senates and Elections.

Lost on false trails, it recks not that in that humble chamber is being enacted much of the contemporary history of mankind.

It has still to learn that it must look in lowly mangers for the promise of the new day.

The young printer smiles confidently as he goes on with his work.

Here are the words which he is forming at the case :—

'The standard of emancipation is now unfurled.

Let all the enemies of the persecuted blacks tremble.

I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice.

I am in earnest.

I will not equivocate.

I will not excuse.

I will not retreat a single inch.



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And I will be heard.

Posterity will bear testimony that I was right.'
For thirty long years he bears this standard
aloft.

Mobbed by the people, imprisoned by the State,
cast out by the churches ;

Dogged by kidnappers and assassins, a price set
upon his head, despised, hated and reviled ;

The wealth, learning and religion of the land
especially bitter against him ;

He presses onward unmoved.

Scorning all compromise, deaf to every sugges-
tion of extenuation, he lifts his voice like
thunder above all other sounds,

Blasting forever the man-stealer and his abettors.

And at last, as he foresaw from the first even in
his loneliness and want—victory, complete
victory is his.

In Garrison the truth conquered, the simple
truth that ' Man cannot own his fellow.' "

IV

It is difficult for some of us to-day to
conceive the opposition that confronted Garri-
son and his work. In such a cause one would
suppose that at least the churches, the clergy
and the religious leaders of the community



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would, because of their Christian profession, have taken his part and supported his efforts. Here and there some did come earnestly to his assistance and defence, but these were a small minority. As a whole, the clergy turned a cold shoulder toward him, the churches closed their doors upon his desire to lecture on behalf of emancipation, and the religious press of the country for the most part united in an effort to suppress his message. Long afterwards, in referring to this time, Wendell Phillips said:—
“I know and you know—you older men who can recall those days—that when one brave preacher in a Boston pulpit uttered a few strong anti-slavery words, his venerable father was accosted the next morning by a solicitous friend:—‘Colonel, you have my sympathy. I cannot tell you how much I pity you.’ ‘What,’ said the brusque old man, ‘What is the reason for your pity?’ ‘Well, I hear your son went crazy at King’s Chapel yesterday,’ was the reply. Such was the state of public sentiment that insanity was the only excuse that kind-hearted friends could make for such a ‘madman.’”

Writes one of the historians of that time:—
“Ecclesiastical authority, political power and social influence all frowned on the young leader



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of abolition ; all united to surround his horizon and overspread his sky with a cloud black as night, a cloud from which thundered and lightened a malignity and hate of which men of to-day can scarcely conceive. But on the very blackness of that cloud William Lloyd Garrison wrote in letters of fire his immortal words:—*I will be heard.*

And he was heard. Boston heard him. The whole United States heard him. In a few years Boston became the center of a mighty anti-slavery movement that was felt throughout the country.

We shall not understand nor adequately appreciate Garrison if we do not bear in mind the personal danger which constantly menaced him, and the sublime serenity and unflinching courage with which he went through it all, turning aside not a hair's breadth from what he believed to be the right, conceding nothing to conciliate his foes, leaving no word unsaid which truth demanded should be spoken. Though in parts of the South, State laws made it a crime to circulate *The Liberator*, or even receive it from the post-office, and the legislature of Georgia passed an Act offering a reward of \$ 5,000 for the arrest and conviction of its editor, the little printing-press in the Boston



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attic went steadily on. Garrison's friends were in constant anxiety because of the flood of anonymous letters from the South that came to him threatening him with violence and death. But he steadily refused their advice to carry any weapon for his defence.

Again and again meetings where he was among the speakers were mobbed and broken up. At a meeting of the Boston Anti-slavery Society in 1835, he was dragged through the streets with a rope around his neck, and finally locked in jail to protect him from the fury of the crowd. And it should be distinctly noted that the mob of men who were responsible for this outrage, personally taking part in this brutality, were among the most influential and 'respectable' of the people of Boston. Garrison had done nothing except rebuke human oppression. The preachers of that time who preached "brotherhood" in the abstract every Sunday, orators who indulged in aimless generalities about "Constitutional guarantees of free and equal rights" were never mobbed. It was because Garrison dared to make a present-day, definite application of these truths, that even the "cultured" and "religious" turned upon him like savages. Garrison himself wrote on the walls of the jail where he was confined



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“William Lloyd Garrison was put in this cell Monday afternoon, Oct. 21, 1835, to protect him from the fury of a respectable and influential mob who sought to destroy him for preaching the doctrine that all men are created equal and that all oppression is odious in the sight of God.”

Those were indeed times that tried men's souls. Only men with wills of iron and with a mighty faith in the justice of their cause could have endured all that Garrison and his colleagues endured.

V

Garrison was a thorough pacifist. He did not believe in war for any purpose, under any circumstances. He did not believe that the cause of right and justice could ever be advanced by violence and bloodshed. But he fought courageously and unflinchingly with the weapons of reason and moral appeal. He was of the same spirit as Mahatma Gandhi who says: “We must have no bloodshed. We have a right to our liberty; it is dearer to us than life. We will win it or we will die. But we will do no wrong. We will not kill, we will not harm our oppressors, we will not even hate them. But we will not co-operate with



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them in any way in their work of tyranny and wrong, in their work of carrying on an unjust Government in this country which does not belong to them. Time will compel them to give us our rights and our freedom. Non-violence on our part does not mean weak submission to the will of the evil-doer. It means putting one's whole soul against the will of the unjust tyrant. Working under this law it is possible for a single individual to defy the might of an unjust empire."

VI

Of course, there had been anti-slavery sentiment in the country, even in the South, before Garrison and Lundy started their crusade. Early in the nineteenth century, a large number of Quakers had become convinced that the possession of slaves was incompatible with their religion, and had freed all their negroes, giving them enough land to support themselves, or employing them at a wage. But such efforts were sporadic, and as the South grew in extent and her wealth increased through the slave-labour on her plantations, the general feeling of hostility toward suggestions of the loss of this source of power, rapidly increased. Also, Northern seaboard cities



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were largely dependent on Southern trade for their commercial prosperity, and in their own interests resented anything that might alienate Southern co-operation. Economic interests had gradually asserted themselves as the dominant factor in the situation, and anti-slavery sentiment seemed to wilt and disappear before this aggressive power.

About the time that Garrison began his work, there was a movement on foot called the "Colonization Scheme." The object of this was the transportation of negroes, including all emancipated slaves, to a tract of territory purchased in Africa for their settlement. This scheme was approved by some of the Southern slave-owners and many philanthropic people in the North regarded it as a sort of mild, inoffensive movement toward general emancipation. But Garrison soon saw that its real tendency was rather to support the institution of chattel-slavery, for by means of this scheme persons or classes that slave-holders found disadvantageous or unprofitable could be shipped overseas under this cover of philanthropic intent, thus leaving the slave-holders unhampered in their authority over negro lives, and secure and unquestioned in their power over the race as a whole. In 1863 the New England Anti-



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slavery Society sent Garrison to England to put this aspect of the matter before those who were backing this "colonization" idea in that country. As a result of his efforts many of the leaders in English anti-slavery work—including such men as Wilberforce, Macaulay and Buxton—issued a definite protest against the methods of the Colonization Society. Some seven years before this time the American, Daniel Webster, had said:—"I will have nothing more to do with this thing. I am satisfied it is merely a slave-holder's plan to get rid of negroes that they do not want."

It should be noted that though this idea of "colonization in Africa" was calculated to give an impression of freedom and general welfare, the facts did not bear this out. Men, women and children were none the less arbitrarily torn from their friends and families, and there was no adequate provision made for them after they were landed on African soil. The whole thing left the *principle* of slavery—of ownership of man by man—untouched.

Garrison's visit to England struck a death-blow to the "colonization" idea. And on his return to America he began urging the organization of true anti-slavery societies throughout the country here. He was unalterably opposed



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to any half-way measures—so-called ‘liberal’ and ‘philanthropic’ plans that tried to soften the issue to suit the sensibilities and convenience of slave-holders. Garrison’s own standard was the “immediate and unconditional emancipation of the slaves on the soil.”

VII

It was in January, 1832, that the New England Anti-slavery Society had been organized on this basis. Its first meeting was held in the office of Samuel E. Sewell, then one of Boston’s rising young lawyers. This association at once issued a manifesto, taking its stand upon the Golden Rule—“All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,” and the scripture—“God hath made of one blood all the nations of men to dwell upon the face of the earth,” and also that sentence from the American Declaration of Independence:—“All men are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” “We believe,” said this manifesto, “that slavery is an evil *now*. A thief found in possession of stolen property is required to relinquish it *immediately*. The



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slave-holder and the man-stealer are in unlawful possession of the sons and daughters of Africa. They should *immediately* set them free. Every principle which proves slavery unjust, an evil and a curse, equally demonstrates the duty of immediate emancipation."

A little more than a year after the organization of this New England Society, a similar association was formed in New York, and from this on, the work spread. Within nine years of the establishment of *The Liberator* in that dingy little Boston attic, there were nearly two thousand anti-slavery organizations in the United States, with a membership of nearly 200,000 men and women.

About this time, however, divisions in the ranks of anti-slavery advocates began to appear. From the beginning Garrison had opposed every suggestion of a "compromise ticket" or the support of any candidate for any office who was not an avowed anti-slavery and "immediate emancipation" man. He would no longer countenance any proposal of even granting freedom gradually, and finally came to regard even the Federal Constitution as a pro-slavery document, thought it should be amended to meet the present issue and that the South should be persuaded to accept immediate



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and unconditional emancipation. Otherwise he could see no way to avoid dissension between North and South. But in the rapidly spreading agitation against slavery which he had kindled, there were many people sincerely interested who were yet not ready to go to such lengths, and Garrison's immediate personal following became smaller with these differences of opinion. But the cause as a whole went on, just the same. Indeed, its momentum seemed even greater now that there were several leaders instead of one.

With the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency in 1860, Garrison's triumph came. Some of the most radical abolitionists—doubtless Garrison among the number—had not voted for him, but for a man named Gerritt Smith, on a separate, anti-slavery ticket. But just because this ticket was separate from the big political parties, it had no chance of success at that time. The political “machines” against it were too strong. But though he had refused to vote for the political party whose ticket had carried Lincoln's name, Garrison's years of work had none the less contributed more perhaps than any other one factor in the country, to the creation of the public sentiment that put Lincoln into power at that crucial



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time. Garrison stood aloof from all political parties, but his work was so forceful and fearless that its influence was felt in every part of the country's life, even by the forces that opposed him. He did not believe in political methods, he built no political machine, formulated no political platform. But in season and out of season he laid the great principles of human justice and human liberty upon the consciences of the people of America. To-day we can see that without his work there would have arisen no "Abolition Party," and probably no "Republican Party" either, the new territories of the South and West would not have been rescued from the blight of slavery, and the Proclamation of Emancipation would probably have been long delayed.

VIII

It will, of course, always remain a question in some minds as to whether Garrison's insistence upon literally "immediate" emancipation was the wisest course, and whether a gradual policy might not have avoided the civil war and the consequent years of bitter feeling between the two sections of the country. It has been urged that by the gradual method the negroes themselves would have been better



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prepared for the responsibilities of freedom. But for Garrison, any degree of compromise seemed morally impossible. And probably no course of action, with however good results, has ever been followed, with reference to which it has not afterwards been said:—"Perhaps some other way might have been better."

On the other hand, it is argued that work less radical than Garrison's (and one must always keep in mind that the essential meaning of the word 'radical' is *thorough*) would doubtless only have postponed and prolonged the final struggle, and a sharp, clean riddance—like a surgical operation—was, indeed, the better way! Promise of freedom to the slaves in some indefinite future, with no specific time fixed, really meant no freedom at all. India knows only too well the value of indefinite promises—how utterly worthless they are! Other men, before Garrison, had tried mild and gradual measures such as "working towards emancipation later on when the time may be more propitious," or "when the slaves will be better prepared for it." But all such advocates, of course, accomplished absolutely nothing. No really effective agitation was done for the abolition of slavery until Garrison took up the problem with an earnest-



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ness that would not be delayed nor turned aside. Honest, earnest action of course always follows honest, earnest thinking. Garrison insisted in uncovering all the darkest corners in which lurked the crimes inherent in and perpetuated by human slavery. He did not flinch from forcing upon the attention of every man and woman with whom he came in contact his own conviction that every white human being in the country was guilty of these crimes in proportion to his or her inactivity in that crisis. And it was not until Garrison's courageous persistence broke the moral torpor into which the country had lapsed, that any decisive action was taken.

It should be noted in this instance as in all similar social movements, that while the emancipation of the Negroes for the time being materially impoverished the South, yet at the same time it lifted a great miasma of inertia from that whole section of the country and the majority of thinking people in the South are to-day glad that slavery is a thing of the past.

In all human bondage, in all injustice, the moral degradation of the oppressor is inevitable. The oppressed may perhaps preserve his honor, self-respect, independence of spirit, but



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the fate of the tyrant is sealed. The slavery of mind under which the slave-owners of the South labored was their own greatest curse—they were slaves to their own ignorance and selfishness, to their false pride and arrogance, their distorted values of human life and labor. The great majority of white people in the South were spenders only, unproductive idlers living on the sweat and blood of the men and women they held in bondage. With the freedom of their Negroes it became necessary for all to engage in the earning of bread and in the work of the world—a bitter task at first for most of them, but a great factor in their eventual education and liberation of mind. Freedom for bondsmen always means a corresponding moral gain for those who have held them in bondage. Would that Englishmen might bear this in mind in connection with their dealings with India.

Though there are men to-day who have misgivings regarding the fate of democracy in the United States, I cannot but believe that the splendidly sincere, courageously earnest work to which Garrison gave his life will not be lost, but will contribute its share to the growth of a truly democratic spirit not only here but throughout the world, wherever the



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story of this struggle is known. The conflict between Garrison and the slave-owning class was really a conflict between the democratic ideal—a government ‘of the people, for the people and by the people,’—and the monarchical or feudal idea of one class or race ruling by the right of physical might over another class born to serve.

If ever a man had a “genius for justice,” a passion for thoroughness and truth, if ever a man lived whose very meat and drink it was to aid the right and oppose the wrong, to defend the helpless and the oppressed, such a man was Garrison. Indomitable of will, broad in sympathies, commanding in intellect, Garrison drew to his allegiance men like Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, Samuel May, Theodore Parker, who looked up to him as their leader. And it has been said of Garrison that no one man ever did more toward endowing a whole nation with a conscience, than did he by his uncompromising allegiance to his own conscience. Appeals which, at the beginning of his career, fell on deaf ears, became the earnest concern of the majority of the whole population before his life was done.



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IX

I would like to speak of Garrison's domestic life, joyous and tranquil in the love of wife and children, undisturbed by the storms that swept over his public career. But to do justice to such a story would require too much space. His death in 1879, at the age of seventy-five, was a fitting sequel to such a life as his, his trust in God and his belief in immortality burning brightly until the last. Well might Wendell Phillips, one of the most distinguished orators of that time, say on the occasion of his funeral, standing by his lifeless form :—"It was really that hand, lying there, now stiff and cold, that wrote the Emancipation Proclamation—who held the pen is of small concern. As God sees, as history will see, it was the hand of Lloyd Garrison and no other that struck the chains forever from a subject race."

Garrison's funeral in Boston was really an historical event. I shall never cease to be thankful that it was my own privilege to attend it. Throughout all the addresses made, the thought rang out—"Let our sorrow at this parting be dispelled by an exultant thankfulness that such a man was given to the world, and lived in our midst." A great company of



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men and women whose tears and tributes of love would have done only too great honor to the mightiest king that ever wielded an earthly sceptre, paid there the homage of their hearts to this knight of human brotherhood and defender of human freedom.

The life of this faithful "servant of the ideal" teaches many lessons, of which the most important is perhaps the invincible power of the Right—that one may confidently take one's stand on the side of Truth and Justice, however powerful may seem the forces that oppose or the difficulties that confront one—a lesson finely stated by William Cullen Bryant,—

"Truth crushed to earth shall rise again,

The eternal years of God are hers."

And again by Longfellow,—

"The mills of God grind slowly but they grind
exceeding small ;

Though with patience He stands waiting,
with exactness grinds He all."

The same lesson is taught by Thomas Carlyle in words of lightning and thunder—"In this, God's world, with its wild, whirling eddies, and its mad foam oceans, where men and nations perish as without law, and judgment for an unjust thing is sternly delayed, dost thou think that there is therefore no justice? That is



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what the fool hath said in his heart. I tell thee again there is nothing else but justice. One strong thing I find here below:—the just thing, the true thing.”

Yes, there is a might in this world stronger than armies and navies, stronger than all rulers and governments—it is the might of Right. Matthew Arnold phrases it—“A power not ourselves that makes for righteousness.” Men are fools who presume to deny or oppose the ultimate triumph of the Right. Garrison himself expressed it in ringing words :

“High walls and the huge body may confine,
And iron gates obstruct the prisoner’s gaze,
And massive bolts may baffle his design
And vigilant keepers watch his devious ways;
Yet scorns the immortal mind this base control,
No chains can bind it and no cell enclose;
Swifter than light it flies from pole to pole
And, in a flash, from earth to heaven it goes.
It leaps from mount to mount, from vale to
vale,
It wanders, plucking honeyed fruits and
flowers;
It visits home, to hear the fireside tale
And in sweet converse passes joyous hours.
’Tis up before the sun roaming afar,
And in its watches wearies every star.”



CHAPTER III

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE

IF a traveller from India, visiting America during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century, had asked, "Who is the queen of American women?" I think the answer oftenest received would have been—"Mrs. Julia Ward Howe."*

Her intellectual abilities were of so high an order, her character so fine and true, her personal charm so great, and the service she rendered her country—especially the women of her country—so conspicuous, so many-sided and fundamental, that I do not think it an exaggeration to say that for the thirty or forty years before her death in 1910, she was the most widely known and honored, the most influential and the best loved of all American women of her time.

And yet withal she was entirely unassuming, approachable, sympathetic. Her thoughts and her time were occupied with the realities of life and the service of humanity; the baubles of ostentatious deference, of pride and display, were repugnant to her.

* Born, New York City, 1819.



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The following is perhaps one of her most characteristic utterances and expresses really the keynote of her life—

“To those courageous souls who, alone and unaided, have been able to face the world’s passion and its inertia ; to those pioneer leaders of forlorn and far hopes who have seen glory in the depths of death and sought it there ; to those ‘voices in the wilderness’ proclaiming the triumphant progress of truth ; to those brave spirits whose strength the fires of hell have annealed but not consumed—to these my soul shall ever render glad and high homage. And if in my later age I might seek the crowning honor of my life, I should seek it with that small faithful band who have no choice but to utter their deepest convictions and abide the issue. Fruitful shall be their pain and their privations. They who have sown in tears the seeds of unpopular truth and virtue, shall reap a happy harvest in the good and gratitude of mankind.”

I

When Mrs. Howe’s public life opened, about the year 1860, a great new desire was springing up and making itself felt in America and elsewhere, for a better and more general education



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for girls and women. A greater degree of social and intellectual freedom and a larger and richer field of practical activity than the rather narrow and rigid customs of the time had allowed, were beginning to be demanded by the freer spirits of Mrs. Howe's generation. Already there was universal primary and elementary education for girls, and the question naturally began to be asked, "Why not also *higher* education for them?" Pioneer efforts to this end were already being made. It was in 1861 that Vassar College, the first college for women in America, was founded; to be followed later by many others of the same kind, and also by a steadily increasing number of co-educational colleges and universities, where young men and women shared the same conditions and qualified in the same studies. An increasingly large number of women were fitting themselves as teachers, as journalists, writers, physicians, lecturers; and public opinion to some extent was with them. It was about that time that agitation for women suffrage began, also.

In all these movements Mrs. Howe took a substantial part; in many, she was a conspicuous leader. Though born into a home of comfort and of wealth, wealth as such never



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attracted her nor seemed to her of anything like so much importance as the well-being of her fellow-men. Beautiful in person, intellectually brilliant, courted on every side, surrounded by all the influences that would naturally lead to a life of mere fashion and superficial pleasures, she yet early saw the hollowness of such a life, and turned to those things that would give permanent satisfaction to her higher nature and make her of service to the world. From earliest childhood she loved books. Reading and study were a delight to her. While a mere girl at school she learned Latin, French and German. Later she became proficient in Italian also, teaching herself, without other instruction, because it seemed to her so beautiful a language. She even delved into profound works of philosophy, and her writing and conversation showed that she had made them a part of her thought. She began to write at an early age. At seventeen she had published quite a number of fine poems anonymously.

She was, however, far from being a recluse or a mere bookworm. On the contrary, she enjoyed social gatherings, and was the life of such occasions, and greatly sought for by people of wealth and position. Her daughter,



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Mrs. Laura E. Richards, says of her mother at this time :—" Although she grew up noticeably dreamy and absorbed in study, she was yet full of fun and flashing wit. She and her two beautiful sisters were called the ' three graces of Bond Street.'....Her glorious crown of red-gold hair set off the rose and ivory of her perfect complexion. Every one acknowledged her as ' the stately Julia, queen of all.' "

It may be of interest just here to note that Roger Williams, the pioneer of religious toleration in America, was one of Mrs. Howe's ancestors on her father's side, and her mother was of Huguenot descent, the family having taken a prominent part in the American Revolution.

II

In early womanhood, Mrs. Howe went on a visit from New York to Boston, and there became acquainted with Dr. Samuel G. Howe whom a little later she married. This turned her life into still wider channels, channels that were most congenial to her temperament, and led to the rich achievements and fruitions with which her subsequent career was filled. Dr. Howe was nearly twenty years older than his wife. When they first met he was already



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famous. Some idea of his character and history may be of interest at this point. In 1864, after having graduated in the Arts course at Brown University and in medicine at Harvard, Dr. Howe had become deeply interested in the cause of the Greeks who were then struggling to throw off the yoke of Turkey, and went to Greece to fight by the side of Lord Byron for their liberty. There, both through his work as a surgeon and as an active soldier, he made for himself a warm place in the hearts of the Greek people. After sharing their struggles and hardships for two years, he returned to America, raised a large sum of money as a relief fund for the impoverished Greeks, and went back with a shipload of food and clothing which he himself distributed among the suffering. He stayed there for a time to help to revive trade and commerce in the devastated country, and was later made surgeon-in-chief of the Greek fleet. When the fight for Greek independence was won, Dr. Howe went to France and there aided the people in establishing their second Republic.

Later, with J. Fennimore Cooper, the distinguished novelist, and S. F. B. Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, Dr. Howe helped the



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Poles in their unavailing struggle against the combined tyranny of Prussia, Russia and Austria. He went to Germany carrying a Polish Relief Fund, was imprisoned in Berlin and afterwards expelled from the country. These stirring adventures had made Dr. Howe known throughout both Europe and America, where he was beloved and honored by all friends of liberty.

In 1833 he began, in Boston, his great work for the blind. It was largely through his efforts that the Perkins Institution for the Blind was established, which under his direction soon became the leading school of its kind in the world. Here he achieved one of the most remarkable results ever known in the history of education, that of taking Laura Bridgeman, who at the age of two had lost all sense of sight, smell and hearing, and teaching her to read and write and so training her in clear thinking and general intelligence as to enable her to become a teacher of others. It was at this time (1841) when he was already famous, that Dr. Howe first met the earnest, and enthusiastic young woman from New York, who a year or two later was to become his wife. With his soul aflame for human service he was exactly the man to kindle her enthu-



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siasm and capture her heart, stimulating her to the highest of which she was capable.

After their marriage, Dr. and Mrs. Howe spent a year in Europe in company with their friends, Horace Mann, the distinguished American educator, and his bride. They went first to London where they occupied a house in Upper Baker Street. There many well-known people came to visit them, among these, Charles Dickens, Monckton Milnes, Sydney Smith, Maria Edgeworth, Henry Hallam, Maclise and Landseer. Thomas Carlyle also came there to see them, and was permitted to smoke his pipe, though Mrs. Howe had a strong dislike for tobacco. During this English sojourn Mrs. Howe spent three days with Florence Nightingale, the two finding much in common, and in after life Mrs. Howe frequently referred to "the charming and graceful personality" of her hostess.

After leaving England, Dr. and Mrs. Howe made a somewhat extended tour of the Continent, staying longest in Italy. That year was one of particular enjoyment and pleasure to both, and bore fruit in many ways throughout Mrs. Howe's later work and life. On their return to America they made their home in Boston and Mrs. Howe soon became a recog-



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nized leader in the social life there. But the society she gathered around her were not the frivolous and merely 'fashionable' set. They were the intelligent, the cultured, the earnest—men and women of fine ideals and high purpose in life: the men and women who made the Boston and New England of the last half of the nineteenth century honored and great. Among her close friends were Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Frank B. Sanborn, and Edward Everett Hale.

III

In religion, Mrs. Howe was a Unitarian, as was her husband. During the life of Theodore Parker, Mrs. Howe was one of the great throng who went every Sunday to the Boston Music Hall to hear that great prophet of God, who was an earnest and indefatigable social and political reformer as well. After Parker's death she joined the Church of the Disciples, whose minister at that time was the eminent and saintly preacher and writer, Dr. James Freeman Clarke. Thus she was at the very centre of the best intellectual, moral, religious and philanthropic life of Boston and New



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England. Her religious faith cannot be better epitomized than in these words of Dr. Clarke :—

“ The fatherhood of God,
The brotherhood of Man,
The leadership of Jesus,
Salvation by character,
The progress of Mankind,
Onward and upward forever.”

For the forms, ceremonies, externalities and current theologies of Christianity Mrs. Howe cared little. But for its deep ethical and spiritual realities, as embodied in these simple and fundamental faiths, she cared deeply all her life.

IV

Her long life was divided between three great and absorbing interests—one was literary work, study for its own sake ; another, the service of others, both in personal ways and through public movements for educational, industrial, religious and political progress ; and the third, which was never subordinated to any other interest, was her home and family.

All her life Mrs. Howe was a prolific writer. She was the author of nearly a dozen books, but the larger part of her literary work



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was given to the world through papers and magazines. Contributions from her pen were sought eagerly by editors, and her articles always found a wide and interested circle of readers. Some years before her death, Mrs. Howe was the guest of the Author's Club of New York, and there told the interesting story of how "The Battle Hymn of the Republic", the best known, perhaps, of all her poems, came to be written. "During the early years of the Civil War," she said, "I was in Washington with my husband, and my pastor, Dr. James Freeman Clarke. We were witnessing a review of the Union troops. The road was so filled with soldiers that the return from the reviewing ground was very slow and tedious, and to while away the time we sang a number of war songs, among them, the famous (even then) "John Brown's Body." Some of the passing regiments took it up and echoes rang with it for miles. Dr. Clarke said to me, 'Mrs. Howe, why don't you compose some appropriate words for that very expressive tune?' I told him I had tried but had not succeeded. The next morning I awoke suddenly in the gray light just before the day, and found the lines I wanted running through my mind. I arose at once and wrote them down, and after-



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wards sent them to the Atlantic Monthly, the editor, Mr. James T. Fields, supplying the title. They did not attract much attention at first. But on a certain occasion Chaplain McCabe sung them, when at once they caught the public ear and flew everywhere..." Following are some of the stanzas:

"Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of
the Lord ;

He is trampling out the vintage where the
grapes of wrath are stored ;

He has loosed the fateful lightnings of his
terrible quick sword

His Truth is marching on !

I have read a fiery gospel writ in burnished
rows of steel

'As ye dealt with these, my children, so with
you your fate shall deal.'

Let the prophet born of woman crush the
serpent with his heel

Our God is marching on !

I have seen him in the watch-fires of an
hundred circling camps ;

I can read his righteous sentence by their dim
and flickering lamps ;

There is builded him an altar in the evening
dews and damps

His Day is marching on !



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He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall
never call retreat;

He is sifting out the hearts of men before his
judgment-seat :

O be swift, my soul, to answer him ! Be jubilant
my feet !

Our God is marching on ! ”

From that day to the present, this hymn
has had an unflagging, indeed a growing popu-
larity, and has been translated into many
languages.

V

Both Mrs. Howe and her husband enlisted
early in the anti-slavery cause, in which they
did heroic and devoted service. For some years
they edited an anti-slavery newspaper, “ *The
Boston Commonwealth* ”. The fact that Bos-
ton wealth and fashion were largely on the
side of the slave-holder did not deter these
brave souls from siding with the slave and
doing all in their power for his freedom. And
after the Civil War was over and the Negroes
were liberated, Mrs. Howe still remained deeply
interested in their welfare. She never ceased
to urge justice in their treatment and the great
importance of giving them schools and a
thorough education. No voice was more stern



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than hers in condemnation of the horrors of lynching and every other wrong done to this race to whom the white people were so much indebted.

All her life, Mrs. Howe continued to feel a deep interest in the Greeks for whom her husband (who died in 1876) had so chivalrously labored and fought. In the many national struggles and tragic experiences they have been called upon to pass through since Dr. Howe left their shores, she never ceased to follow their fortunes with the warmest sympathy. Greeks travelling on this side of the water, or coming here to make their homes, were always sure to find in her a wise and generous friend. Whenever the Greeks in Boston held their celebrations, it was Mrs. Howe's custom to speak to them in their own language.

She was keenly alive to the sufferings and wrongs of all oppressed peoples. It was owing to her initiative that the "Society of American Friends of Russian Freedom" was organized, with Wendell Phillips, Whittier, Phillips Brooks, and many other distinguished Americans as members. When that remarkable woman, Catherine Breshkovsky, came to this country to tell the terrible story of Russian oppression, Mrs. Howe exerted herself earnestly



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to secure a wide hearing for her, and to awaken national interest in her cause. Later, when Czarist Russia reached its iron fingers across the sea and through the wiles of diplomacy tried to get hold of Jan Pouren, the political refugee, and drag him back to the Siberian mines, or a speedier death, Mrs. Howe assisted in the organization of those hundreds of protest meetings held in all parts of the land, which finally resulted in defeating Russia's intrigue. To the meeting of protest held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mrs. Howe sent a letter saying: "Our right of asylum must be kept inviolate and inviolable," and quoting Emerson's words, "Bid the broad Atlantic roll, a ferry of the free."

All her life Mrs. Howe was a friend of Italy. She warmly sympathized with Mazzini and Garibaldi and the men who led the Italian people in their heroic struggle for national freedom and unity. She made repeated visits to Italy, which seemed to her a land of extraordinary charm. She loved the people and their language, and the country's rich treasures of art and music. She was always held in very high regard by the large numbers of Italians living in America. When she was eighty-seven years of age she gave an address in the Italian



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language at the celebration by Boston Italians of the 400th anniversary of the death of Columbus. She was honorary president of the Circle Italiano and in 1902 received from the Societa Dante Alighieri of Rome (of which the Boston Society is a branch) a formal acknowledgment of her efforts to diffuse throughout America a knowledge of the language and affairs of Italy.

If she could have lived a few years longer, how great would have been her appreciation of and her interest in India's two great teachers and reformers, Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi, and how warm and earnest would have been her sympathy with the Indian people, not only in their political struggle to secure for themselves the freedom and nationhood which are their right, but also in their many-sided social struggles to secure universal education, including education for their girls and young women, to get better sanitation and better health-conditions everywhere, to banish intemperance and the curse of opium, to abolish child-marriage and the wrongs done to widows, to gain a larger and fuller life for all women, to lift up to manhood and to equality of rights and privileges the untouchable classes of India, to foster the literatures, arts and industries of India, and to promote her distinctive civiliza-



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tion as an important contribution to the civilization of the world !

VI

Mrs. Howe was always a very earnest advocate of the cause of peace and for many years before her death had been an officer of the American Peace Society. She was greatly stirred at the time of the Franco-Prussian war (in 1870) and drew up an appeal, asking:— "Why do not the mothers of mankind interfere to prevent this waste of human life of which they alone know and bear the cost?" The appeal was translated into French, German, Spanish, Italian, and Swedish, and circulated widely throughout Europe. As long as she lived, she continued to write and speak in the interest of international peace and arbitration.

One chapter in Mrs. Howe's "Reminiscences" is entitled "A Woman's Peace Crusade." It deals with an episode in her history too often overlooked, for it is the story of one of the most impressive efforts of her life. "It seemed to me," Mrs. Howe wrote of the Franco-Prussian war, "a return to barbarism, the issue being one that might so easily have been settled without bloodshed. The august dignity of motherhood and its terrible responsi-



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bility in this connection, now appeared to me in a new light, and I could think of no better way of expressing my sense of this than by sending out an appeal to the womanhood of the world." She called upon women the world over to assist her in summoning and holding a Congress of Women in London to organize a crusade of women against the whole system of war, and two years of her life were almost entirely devoted to correspondence upon this subject with the leading women of various countries. She held important meetings in New York at which the cause of international peace and women's part in promoting it were earnestly presented. At one of these, David Dudley Field, the great advocate of international arbitration, made a powerful address. In the Spring of 1872 Mrs. Howe went herself to England to work for a woman's peace congress in London. William Henry Channing was in England at the time and she had much help from him in her "Women's Apostolate of Peace", as she afterwards named it, also from the Unitarian Association of London, and many influential English men and women. She attended the meetings of the English Peace Society, and asked permission to address one of them, but this was refused on the ground



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that women never had spoken at these meetings! She decided at last to hire a hall for Sunday afternoon meetings, at the Freemasons' Tavern, and spoke there for a number of weeks, with good audiences.

In the meantime Mrs. Howe had come into touch with Frances Power Cobbe, Miss Clough, Mary Carpenter and other public-spirited women and received many invitations to address meetings in various parts of England. She also attended the peace conference then in Paris. But she was not allowed to speak there. Mrs. Howe's final meeting in London, to which all her other efforts had been intended to lead up, was held in St. George's Hall. Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Bright sat with her on the platform, and Sir John Bowring, then an old man, spoke at some length. The attendance was good but the meeting as a whole was by no means what Mrs. Howe had hoped. Her entire 'crusade' fell far short of the co-operation and success she had desired, and she returned to Boston, in disappointment, but not in discouragement. She redoubled her efforts at home, and became one of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society. The institution of "Mother's Day" (for which she chose the second of June



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because it was a good time for out-of-door meetings) was due to her efforts, and was originally devoted solely to the advocacy of peace. For a number of years Mrs. Howe herself conducted these meetings, and greatly rejoiced at the news of similar organizations elsewhere—some as far away as Constantinople.

In Mrs. Howe's letter to the National Peace Congress held in New York in 1907 (only three years before her death) and which was read there by her daughter, Mrs. Hall, she speaks with intense feeling of the force of conviction which moved her to make her 'crusade' in '72—"I cried aloud, 'If the women of the world would unite to prevent resort to arms, no more blood would be shed upon any battlefield!' I felt this so strongly that it seemed that I had only to proclaim it to rally around me all the mothers of mankind." To so unite the women of the world for peace, had indeed been the mainspring of her life-long efforts in behalf of the wider education of women, and her letter to the congress concluded, "If we have rocked the cradle and soothed the slumber of mankind, let us lead in the great awakening and make steadfast the peace of the world."

I dwell at some length upon this phase of



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Mrs. Howe's work because of its pertinency to the present time, when again and again the responsibility for the peace of the world has been declared to rest primarily with the women of to-day. Her work for women was regarded by Mrs. Howe herself as the most important work of her life; and in this work she labored as long as she lived,—lecturing in this and other countries, attending conventions and congresses, pleading before legislatures and writing in its behalf with a tireless pen.

VII

She was not one of the very earliest of the advocates of woman suffrage. Like many others she was at first somewhat prejudiced against it, but when she came to look carefully into its reasons, its meaning and its probable results, she found herself drawn irresistibly into sympathy with it, and for more than forty years there was no more tireless worker for equal suffrage than was she. As early as 1868 she took a leading part in organizing the New England Woman Suffrage Association. Accompanied by other women (and men of distinction, such as Senator Hoar of Massachusetts)—women of ability, culture and influence, Mrs. Howe's eloquence and social prestige were a



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tower of strength to the cause during its early years of unpopularity. Important also was the work she did in connection with the "Women's Congress" which held yearly meetings of several days each, in the larger cities of the United States and Canada, where the discussions included all phases of education and all subjects bearing upon the life of women. Reports of these Congresses were widely circulated in the newspapers, and wherever the meetings were held they left behind them a train of Women's Clubs, Study Classes, and organizations of various kinds which opened up new avenues of thought and activity for women.

The women of India, who are now doing such splendid work along these lines, will be interested in this phase of Mrs. Howe's work, and will understand the great and untiring effort necessary to initiate a movement of this character. Precedent, and all the influences of conservatism were against her. Men frowned and women feared. Such organizations were declared to be unwomanly. If women wanted to meet together, it was urged, they should do so only for the purpose of sewing for the poor, or similar philanthropies. To organize for intellectual improvement, for the purpose of public speaking, or to undertake concerted



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movements for social betterment, seemed to the rank and file of that day little short of "criminal anarchy." But Mrs. Howe, on the contrary, believed and preached, in season and out of season, that women not only were just as capable of an intellectual life of their own as were men, but also that they would be better and wiser wives and mothers as they became more developed mentally, more widely interested in human affairs. She recognized the power of united effort, of thorough organization, and insisted that women should avail themselves of this power for the enlargement of their own lives and the benefit of society as a whole.

It is not contended, of course, that all the miscellaneous organizations of women existing to-day are unqualifiedly good. What movement in the world is all good? Everything has its weak side. If we condemn all advance movements that are not perfect from the start, we shall never have any progress at all. But after making all just allowances for limitations and imperfections, it seems difficult to understand how any thoughtful person can, without satisfaction and pride and great new hope for the world, witness the work which women's clubs and other organizations are doing to-day all over this country and many others, not only for



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the enlargement of the life of to-day, but for the children of the future, and for the promotion of so many worthy causes—practically every cause that stands for human well-being in our time.

Consider the situation as we see it to-day—what splendid fruit the women's movement has already borne, in the fields of religion, education, temperance, in philanthropies and social reforms of all kind; in the work of improving homes and making motherhood more intelligent; in child-saving; in the improvement of jails and prisons; in civic sanitation and beautification; in social settlement work, public playgrounds and kindergartens, travelling libraries and flower and fruit missions; the care of the sick, the aged, the poor;—indeed, one is almost tempted to say that there is nothing good going on to-day that is not in some degree the result of the organized efforts of women. To have been a leader—perhaps more than any other single woman, *the* leader, as Mrs. Howe was—in the creation of this splendid side of our modern social development, our modern higher civilization, is a greater glory than falls to the share of most of us in this world.



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VIII

Notwithstanding all her literary activity and all her public work Mrs. Howe was one of the most faithful, loving and devoted of mothers. She brought up a family of five children, a son and four daughters, all of whom became useful and honored members of society. I want to call particular attention to this side of her life because it is so often said that educated women do not make good mothers, that culture somehow detracts from motherhood, and especially that women who are interested in the welfare of the City, the State, the Nation, and desire the responsibility of voting for public servants, are poorer mothers in proportion to these wider interests.

Mrs. Howe was highly educated, richly cultured; she cared earnestly for public interests and for fifty years took an active part in civic and human welfare. But all who know her unite in testifying that there was no truer or more devoted mother. Her wider interests enriched her home-life, making her an unfailing inspiration to her husband and children. The companionship of such a mother was the finest of all educations for her children. Many who knew her have written of the charm of Mrs. Howe's home life. Among



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these are her daughters, Mrs. Maude Howe Elliott and Mrs. Laura Howe Richards. Says Mrs. Elliott :—"Nothing about our mother was more remarkable than the joyousness with which she took up each day and its cares. She always came into the room in the morning like a child who has some good news to share with the family. This wonderful spirit of gladness, overflowing in every sort of wit, jest and antic, took the sting from the bitterest nature, and in her company the satirist grew kind and the cynic humane. A deep spiritual joy seemed to enwrap her like a sort of enveloping climate; wherever she was the sun shone, the sky was blue, birds sang, brooks babbled; for so tremendous was her spiritual force that it always conquered her environment. The sun of her presence never failed to break through the clouds, to dispel the grey fog of the 'blues,' the worries of the irritable or the sufferings of the disheartened. When people came to talk with her of their troubles, as they so often did, the troubles seemed to melt before her happy outlook on life and the troubled ones carried away with them something of her own glad vision."

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Your Age," gives a fascinating picture of Mrs. Howe's relations with her children, and lets us see something of how and why it was that she was so wonderful a mother. She lived not merely with her children, but close to them, in and through them sharing their very innermost lives, their every joy and sorrow, their hopes and plans and ambitions and even their most mysterious secrets, and found her greatest joy in so doing. Mrs. Richards says: "Our mother's genius might soar to heaven on such a song as her 'Battle Hymn of the Republic', but we always considered that she was tied to our little string, and never doubted our perfect right to pull her down to earth whenever a matter of importance—such as a doll's funeral or a sick kitten—required her presence or her sympathy. She always had time for all our confidences, and she had a rare understanding of the child-mind. We were always sure that 'Mama knew just how it was.' Through all and around all, like a laughing river, flowed the current of her wit and fun. No child could be sad in her company. If we were cold, there would be a merry bout of 'fisticuffs' to warm us. If we were too warm there was a song or story while we sat still and 'cooled off'. We all had nick-



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names, our own being usually too sober to suit her laughing mood. We were 'Petotty', 'Jehu', 'Wolly', and 'Bunks of Bunktown.' What fun we got of those names! It was worth while to have measles and all the rest of children's diseases, not because one had stewed prunes and cream toast, but because our mother sat by us and sang 'Lord Thomas and Fair Elinor' and all the rest of the ballads we loved. ...Our walks with our mother are never to be forgotten—twilight walks over the hills, with the wonderful sunset deepening over the bay, turning all the world to gold and jewels; or through the lovely wild glen with its waterfall and its murmuring streams, and the solemn Norway firs with their warning fingers. Here, and in the lovely lonely fields, as we walked, our mother talked with us and shared with us the rich treasures of her thought,

'And oh, the words that fell from her mouth
Were words of wonder and words of truth.'

One such word, dropped in the course of conversation as the maiden in the fairy story dropped diamonds and pearls, comes now to my mind and I shall write it here because it is good to think of and to say over to oneself—

'I gave my son a palace, a kingdom to control
The palace of his body, the kingdom of his soul.'



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Our mother read to us a great deal, too, and told us all kinds of stories from the 'Trojan War' down to 'Puss in Boots', and it was with her beside us that we looked over the Shakespeare book and learned its stories by heart."

This is the true way to lay the foundations of all education. What a sermon is bound up in those two simple lines about the kingdom of one's soul! Do you think a child could ever forget it? That is the way to teach children religion—your children and mine. We must live near to them, and win their confidences. We must be their nearest and dearest friends. We must let them see that we care, and care very deeply, for all the fine, high things that religion stands for and symbolizes. And then when we are alone with them in beautiful places, and feel that we are very close to them in sympathy and feeling, we must speak the simple, reverent, earnest word that is in our hearts, drop the seed of a sweet, high, tender thought, perhaps about our idea of God, perhaps about speaking lovingly or living nobly. And we may be sure that it will be a seed of life. It will not die. It will live and grow in the years to come when we have forgotten all about it. It will bear fruit after we are gone from the earth.



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Stories of Mrs. Howe's home life always recall to me what Sister Nivedita has written (in "the Web of Indian Life" and other writings) of home-life in India and the influence of the Indian mother. Our Western homes and home-makers can, I am convinced, learn not a few fine and beautiful lessons from the traditions and customs of "the cradle-country of the world."

IX

Mrs. Howe was an accomplished musician. A volume of musical compositions from her pen was published about the time of her death. Her voice was one of rare sweetness and until very late in life her singing was a constant source of pleasure to her friends. Mrs. Richards writes—"Our mother's story should be sung rather than said, so much had music to do with all her life." Her children recall as among the very happiest recollections of their home-life, the habitual gatherings of the family at twilight around the piano to sing, and, greatest treat of all, to listen to the songs their mother would sing. It seemed to them "that she must know all the songs of the world." Besides those of her own composition, there were "gay little



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French songs, all ripple and sparkle and trill; and soft, melting Italian serenades and barcarolles, which seemed like the notes of the nightingale; and merry, jovial German student songs which she had learned from her brother when he came back from Heidelberg." And with all the rest there was no lack of songs that were earnest and tender, full of noble and inspiring thought and feeling. Thus it was that through all the years when her children were growing up music was one of the most constant and effective of the agencies used by Mrs. Howe to add charm to their home and make it the most attractive place in the world for her family.

X

As we have seen, Mrs. Howe was a woman of deeply religious nature but her religion was not superstitious or dark or ascetic. Rather it was essentially one of light and reason and love, which made her sympathetic toward all sorrow and eager to help wherever help was needed, and opened her life to all that was sweet and beautiful and good.

She was never formally ordained to the ministry, but she preached a great deal and always with great acceptance. Oftenest, of



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course, she spoke in Unitarian pulpits, those of her own denomination ; but she also frequently preached in other churches. In the later years of her life she was welcome in almost all the pulpits of the country. Although she was often heard in the crowded and fashionable churches, she liked best to speak to the poor and lowly. She said she never enjoyed speaking so much as once when she gave a series of sermons to a congregation of bare-footed Negroes in the Island of San Domingo when her husband was United States Commissioner there. As a speaker, she was quiet, thoughtful, persuasive. She always spoke with dignity and a winning grace that did much to disarm those who opposed the practice of women speaking in public. She believed that the ministry in all churches should be open to women as well as men. In this she was far in advance of her time. For many years only the liberal churches (Unitarian and Universalist) allowed women to preach. But progress has been made since that time and now some half a dozen Christian denominations in the United States, Canada and England are opening their pulpits to women. Twenty years or more before her death, Mrs. Howe organized a Women's Ministerial Conference of which she was president.



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For many years before her death, her appearance in any public gathering was acknowledged by the audience rising and standing reverently until she was seated. The great esteem in which she was held was due no doubt in part to her advanced age (she was in her ninety-second year at the time of her death) but still more it was due to her rare intellectual and spiritual gifts, her quiet dignity and charm of personality, and it was a recognition of the devoted public service of her whole life.

XI

With all her gentleness, modesty and sweetness, Mrs. Howe was yet a woman of great strength of character and determination when a question of right was involved. She had unusual courage both in thought and action and her loyalty to her convictions amounted to heroism. She dared to stand alone, to be a pioneer and identify herself with unpopular causes. This was true both in religious matters and in those of social reform. The great and influential churches of the country would have given her the warmest welcome to their membership, and of course identification would have increased her prestige. But in honest conviction she knew she



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belonged to the small, pioneer, widely misunderstood church of Channing, Theodore Parker, Freeman Clarke, and of the handful of forward-looking men and women who dared to interpret Christianity in the light of modern knowledge and modern needs; and with that church she unhesitatingly cast her lot.

A number of honorary degrees were conferred upon Mrs. Howe by colleges and universities; only a few weeks before her death she received the degree of Doctor of Humanities from the largest of the American colleges for women. Upon the occasion of this presentation, she was brought upon the platform in a wheeled chair and the great audience of some two or three thousand greeted her with the most enthusiastic applause and with one voice sang her "Battle Hymn of the Republic." The president of the college in conferring the degree characterized her as "poet and patriot, lover of letters and of learning, advocate for more than half a century in print and in living speech of all great causes of human liberty; sincere friend of all that makes for the enrichment and elevation of womanhood, to whom in her serene, gracious and venerated age we offer our felicitation and grateful homage."



Mrs. Maude Howe Elliott, Mrs. Howe's daughter, writes in her biography:—"The one important thing about my mother's life was obviously, not that she lived to be ninety-one years old, but that she lived to be *ninety-one years young*; that she worked until she was ninety-one, and that the work of her last year was as good as that of any other period. The poem, 'The Capital,' written only four months before her death is one of the best she ever wrote." She passed the forenoon of her ninetyeth birth-day reading Greek, and in the afternoon she attended the meeting of two public commissions, before one of which she made an able and very earnest plea for pure milk for babies. At an advanced age she published the following poem, which in a sense epitomizes her own life:—

“I made life's voyage on a golden river,
 'Neath clouds of opal and of amethyst;
 Along its banks bright shapes were moving, ever,
 And threatening shadows melted into dust.
 My eye, unpractised, sometimes lost the current,
 When some wild rapid in the stream would
 whirl;
 But soon a Master Hand beyond the torrent
 Freed my frail shallop from the dread swirl.



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My voyage nears its close. In some still haven
My bark will find an anchorage of rest,
When that kind Hand, which ever good has
given,
Opening with wider grace, shall give the
Best."

XII

Mrs. Howe's funeral was held at the Church of the Disciples in Boston, where her religious home had been for more than fifty years. The cosmopolitan character of the great congregation that gathered to express their affection and their sorrow at her going, was most noticeable. It not only included people of many nationalities, but also of many faiths, from all walks of life, rich and poor, white and black, the most famous in the land and the most obscure. All alike loved and honored her. A touching incident of the ceremonies was a song, "In tears of grief", sung by the blind pupils of the Perkins Institute, the school for the blind which Dr. Howe had established and in which Mrs. Howe had been so deeply interested all her life. Perhaps most impressive was the fact that while her funeral service continued, every public school in Boston suspended its regular exercises and devoted the time to the



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memory of this great and beloved woman reading and reciting her poems, singing the hymns she had written, and in other ways recalling her life and character and the great service she rendered to their city and to the world.

Soon after Mrs. Howe's death, a great memorial meeting was held in Boston's historic Faneuil Hall, by the Massachusetts Women Suffrage Association. From this and from another great meeting in her honor held in Symphony Hall (Boston) in January 1911, hundreds were turned away unable to obtain even entrance, showing that the thought of her still remained warm and quick in the hearts of the multitude. Ex-President Roosevelt wrote on this occasion; "There is not a man or woman in America for whom I have felt the kind of devotion that I have felt for Mrs. Howe." In his address on the occasion, the Mayor of Boston said: "Mrs. Howe's whole life taught the evanescence of the life of mere pleasure compared with the life of thought, of work, of love. Not only in its duration but in its fullness, her life seemed to have marched parallel with the century in which she lived and to have absorbed and reflected its very highest aspirations". President Mary E. Wool-



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ley, of Mt. Holyoke College for Women, spoke most impressively of Mrs. Howe's "wonderful balance of power,—keen of mind and witty of speech, yet with the law of kindness governing her tongue; intense in conviction, unflinching in courage, yet always reasonable and open-minded to the views of other thinkers; quick in initiative yet patient in the realization of her plans,—discriminating in her judgments yet generous in her estimates of others; combining wide intellectual interests and attainments with an almost childlike simplicity, she manifested alike the courage of the soldier and the spirit of the Christ. ...Mrs. Howe's conception of true womanhood, that women should share all human rights and human responsibilities, was like the addition of a new continent to the map of the world."

Mrs. Howe's Centennial, May 27, 1919, was widely celebrated in this country and beyond by churches and patriotic societies and women's organizations of all kinds. At ninety, she had said of herself:—"The deeper I drink of life, the sweeter it grows." May we not think of her as still drinking deeply of a yet fuller life? I close with lines from her own pen, which she entitled, "An Epitaph."



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‘ Over my grave,
Kindly grass,
Do not wave
 To those who pass
A single mournful thought
Of affection come to nought.
Look up to the blue
 Where, light-hid,
Lives what doth renew
 Man’s chrysalid,
Say not : She is here ;
 Say not : She is there ;
Say : She lives in God,
Reigning everywhere.”



CSL

PART SECOND

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ



CHAPTER I

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ

THE impression is wide-spread in America that British rule in India has been and is a great and almost unqualified good. The British themselves never tire of "pointing with pride" to what they claim to have done and to be doing for the benefit of the Indian people. What knowledge we have in America regarding the matter, comes almost wholly from British sources, and hence the majority of us do not suspect that there is another side to the story. But the Indian people claim, very earnestly claim, that there is another side, which cannot fail to prove a disillusionment to all who learn the truth about it.

During the days of chattel-slavery in the Southern States of the American Union, so long as the world knew of slavery only through the representations of it given by the slave-



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holders, the impression was common that slavery was a beneficent institution. It was not until the slaves themselves began to find a voice and the "sacred institution" came to be described from the standpoint of the bondman, that its real character began to be understood.

I

What, in reality, does British rule in India mean,—not from the standpoint of the British Government which gets such great political prestige from the holding of this vast Asiatic dependency; not as it is seen by the army of British officials in India who derive their living and their wealth from British economic domination there; but what does it mean as experienced by the 320 millions of Indian people who are not barbarians or 'half civilized' as many seem to suppose, but people who represent an ancient and high civilization, who as a nation, have had a long and proud past, not who more than a century and a half ago were conquered by force of arms and by commercial and diplomatic duplicity, and have been held in subjection ever since by a foreign power.

For more than a century and a quarter, indeed ever since Edmund Burke's famous



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impeachment of Warren Hastings for his misdeeds in India, there have not been wanting Englishmen, both in India and at home, who have seen and deplored, and to some extent pointed out, what they have believed very serious wrongs connected with the British rule of the Indian people. Naturally such utterances have been unpopular in England, and have been 'hushed up' as much as possible. It has not been uncommon to denounce such plain-speaking as unpatriotic and traitorous. However, free speech has not been wholly suppressed. A great body of testimony has been accumulated both in England and in India, showing that the results of foreign conquest and foreign rule in this instance have not been essentially different from results of such conquest and rule everywhere else. This or that foreign domination may be a little more or a little less intelligent here or cruel there, but in every case and in every country and age its essential nature is the same. It is founded on force and not on justice. Its result is certain to be deep and wide-spread injury to those robbed of their freedom and their rights, and in the end, to those who do the robbing, as well. The rule of any people by the sword of a foreign conqueror is always a bitter thing to those who feel the



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sword's pitiless edge, whatever it may be to those who hold the hilt of the sword. But it is worse than bitter ; it is demoralizing, degenerating, destructive to the character of those held in subjection. It tends to destroy their self-respect, their power of initiative, their power of self-direction, to create a slave-psychology and rob them of all hope and incentive in life. Injury of this kind is the deepest that can be inflicted upon humanity.

II

To understand fully the great problem confronting the people of India to-day, we must have clearly in mind the exact relation between India and England. India is a "dependency", not a colony. Great Britain has both colonies and dependencies, and many persons suppose them to be identical. But they are not. Britain's free colonies, like Canada, though nominally governed by the mother-country, are really self-ruling in everything except their relations to foreign powers. Not so with dependencies like India. These are granted no self-government, no independence ; they are ruled absolutely by Great Britain, who is not their "mother" country, but only their conqueror and master.



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As the result of a pretty wide acquaintance in England and a residence of some years in Canada, I am disposed to believe that nowhere in the world can be found governments that are more free, that more fully embody the intelligent will of their people, or that better serve their people's many-sided interests and wants, than those of the self-ruling colonies of Great Britain. I do not see but that these colonies are in every essential way as free as if they were full republics. Probably they are not any more free than the people of the United States, but it is no exaggeration to say that they are essentially as free. Their connection with England, their mother-country, is not one of coercion but of choice; it is one of reverence and affection. That the British Government assures such liberty in its colonies is a matter for congratulation and honorable pride. In this respect it stands on a moral elevation certainly equal to that of any government in the world.

But turn now from Britain's colonies to her dependencies. Here we find something for which there does not seem to be any natural place among British political institutions. Britons call their flag the flag of freedom. They speak of the British Constitution, largely



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unwritten though it is, as a constitution that guarantees freedom to every British subject in the world. *Magna Charta* meant self-government for the English people. Cromwell wrote on the statute books of the English Parliament—"All just powers under God are derived from the consent of the people." Since Cromwell's day this principle has been fundamental, central, undisputed, in British home politics. It took a little longer to get it recognized in colonial matters. The American colonies in 1776 took their stand upon it. "Just government must be based upon the consent of the governed." "There should be no taxation without representation." These were their affirmations. Burke and Pitt and Fox and the broader-minded leaders of public opinion in England were in sympathy with their American brethren. If Britain had been true to her principle of freedom and self-rule she would have kept all her American colonies. But she was not true to it and so she lost them. Later she came very near losing Canada in the same way. But her eyes were opened in time and she gave Canada freedom and self-government. This prevented revolt and fastened Canada to her with hooks of steel. Since this experiment with Canada, it



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has been a settled principle in connection with British colonial as well as home politics, that there is no just power except that which is based upon the consent of the governed.

But what are we to do with this principle when we come to the dependencies? Is another and different principle to be adopted here? Are there indeed peoples whom it is just to rule without their consent? Is justice one thing in England and Canada and another thing in India? It is the belief and conviction that what is justice in England and Canada is justice everywhere, that made Froude declare, "Free nations cannot govern subject provinces."

III

Why is England in India at all? Why did she go there at first and why does she remain? If India had been a comparatively empty land as America was when it was discovered, so that Englishmen had wanted to settle there and make homes, the reason would have been plain. But it was a land already full, and as a matter of fact practically no Englishmen have ever gone to India to settle or make homes. If the Indian people had been savages or barbarians, there might have seemed on the sur-



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face of the question, some reason for England's conquering and ruling them. But they were a people with a highly organized government far older than that of Great Britain, and with a civilization that had risen to a splendid development before England's was born.

Said Lord Curzon, while Viceroy of India, in his address in the Great Delhi Durbar in 1901, "Powerful Empires existed and flourished here (in India) while Englishmen were still wandering, painted, in the woods, and while the British Colonies were still a wilderness and a jungle. India has left a deeper mark upon the history, the philosophy, and the religion of mankind, than any other terrestrial unit in the universe." It is such a land that England has conquered and is ruling as a dependency. It is such a people that she is holding without giving them any voice whatever in their own destiny. The honored Canadian Premier, Sir Wilfred Laurier, at the Colonial Conference held in London in connection with the coronation of King Edward, declared: "The Empire of Rome was composed of slave states; the British Empire is a galaxy of free nations." But is India a free nation? Lord Curzon declared in his Durbar address at Delhi, that the "principal condition of the



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strength of the British throne is the possession of the Indian Empire, and the faithful attachment and service of the Indian people." Do these statesmen reflect that it is virtually a slave-empire of which they are so proud; that the great Indian nation, civilized, trustworthy, law-abiding, which comprises more than two-thirds of the entire population of their empire, has no freedom, I mean real freedom, freedom to rule itself, or to take its rightful place among the great nations of the world?

Perhaps there is nothing so dangerous or so evil in its effects, as irresponsible power. That is what Great Britain exercises in connection with India—absolute power, with no one to call her to account. I do not think any nation is able to endure such an ordeal any better than is Britain, but it is an ordeal to which neither rulers of nations nor individuals in private life should ever be subjected. The risks are too great. England avoids it in connection with her own rulers, by making them strictly responsible to the English people. The rulers of Canada are responsible to the Canadian people. Every free nation safeguards alike its people and its rulers by making its rulers answerable in everything to those whom



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they govern. But here is the anomaly of British rule in India—Britain rules India but does not acknowledge any degree whatever of responsibility to the people of India.

What is the result? Are the interests and rights of India protected? Is it possible for the rights of any people to be protected without self-rule? I invite Americans to come with me to India and see. What we find there will go far towards furnishing a key to the meaning of the present movement for freedom and self-government.

IV

Crossing over from this side to London, we sail from there to India on a magnificent steamer. On board is a most interesting company of people, made up of merchants, travelers, and especially Englishmen who are either officials connected with the Indian Government or officers in the Indian army, who have been home on furlough with their families and are now returning. We land in Bombay, a city that reminds us of Paris or London, or New York or Washington. Our hotel is conducted in English style. We go to the railway station, one of the most magnificent buildings of the kind in the world, to take the



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train for Calcutta—the most important city, and formerly the capital, some fifteen hundred miles away. Arrived in Calcutta, we hear it called the City of Palaces, nor do we wonder at the name.

Who own the steamship line by which we came to India? The British. Who built that splendid railway station in Bombay? The British. Who built the railway on which we travelled to Calcutta? The British. To whom do these palatial buildings in Calcutta belong? Mainly to the British. We find that both Calcutta and Bombay have a large commerce. To whom does the overwhelming bulk of this commerce belong? To the British. We find that the Indian Government, that is, the British government in India, has directly or indirectly built 36,000 miles or more of railway in India; has created good postal and telegraph systems reaching practically throughout the country; has established or assisted in establishing many schools, colleges, hospitals and other institutions of public benefit; has to some extent promoted sanitation; has founded law-courts after the English pattern, and has done much else to bring India in line with the civilization of Europe. It is not strange that visitors begin to exclaim—"How much the



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British are doing for India!" "How great a benefit to the people of India British rule is!" And in a degree this is true. British rule has done many things for India, for some of which India itself is grateful.

But have we seen all? Is there no other side? Have we probed to the underlying facts, the foundations upon which all this material acquisition is based? Are these signs of prosperity which we have noticed, signs of the prosperity of the Indian people, or only of their English masters? If the English are living in ease and luxury, how are the people of the land living? Who pays for these fine buildings that the British rulers of the land occupy and take the credit for? Do the British? Or are they paid for out of the taxes of perhaps the most poverty-stricken people in the world? Who pays for all these railways? Have we been away at all from the beaten track of tourist travel? Have we been out among the Indian people themselves, in the country as well as in the cities? Nearly nine-tenths of the people of India are "ryots"—small farmers who derive their sustenance directly from the land. Have we taken the trouble to find out how they live, whether they are growing better off or poorer year by year?



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Especially, have we looked into the causes of those famines, the most terrible known to the modern world, which have long swept like a besom of heath over India, with their black shadows, plague and pestilence, following in their wake? Here is a side of India with which we must become acquainted, before we can understand the true situation in India. The great disturbing, portentous, all-overshadowing fact connected with the history of India in recent years has been the succession of these famines, and the consequent plague-epidemics.

V

What do these famines mean? Here is a picture from a recent book written by a distinguished British civilian who has had long service in India and knows the Indian situation from the inside. Since he is an Englishman, we may safely count upon his prejudices, if he has any, being upon the side of his own countrymen. Mr. W. S. Lilly, in his "India and Its Problems", writes as follows:—

"During the first eighty years of the nineteenth century, 18,000,000 of the Indian people perished of famine. In one year alone—the year when Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, assumed the title of Empress,—5,000,000 of the



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people of Southern India were starved to death. In the District of Bellary, with which I am personally acquainted—a region twice the size of Wales—one-fourth of the whole population perished in the famine of 1876-77. I shall never forget my own famine experience; how, as I rode out on horseback, morning after morning, I passed crowds of wandering skeletons, and saw human corpses by the roadside, unburied, uncared for, half devoured by dogs and vultures; and how—still sadder sight—children, ‘the joy of the world’ as the old Greeks deemed them, had become its ineffable sorrow there, forsaken even by their mothers, their feverish eyes shining from hollow sockets, their flesh utterly wasted away, only gristle and sinew and cold shivering skin remaining, their heads mere skulls, their puny frames full of loathesome diseases engendered by the starvation in which they had been conceived and born and nurtured—the sight, the thought of them haunts me still.” Everyone who has been in India in famine-times, and has left the beaten track of western-made prosperity, knows how true a picture this is.

Mr. Lilly estimates the number of famine-deaths in the first eight decades of the last century at 18,000,000. • Think what this means



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—within a little more than two generations as many people died from lack of food as the whole population of Canada, New England, and the City and State of New York; nearly half as many as the whole population of France! But the most startling aspect of the case appears in the fact that the famines increased in number and severity as the century went on. Suppose we divide the last century into quarters, periods of twenty-five years each. In the first quarter there were five famines, with an estimated loss of 1,000,000 lives. During the second quarter of the century there were two famines with an estimated mortality of 500,000. During the third quarter there were six famines, with a recorded loss of life of 5,000,000. And during the last quarter of the century—what do we find? Eighteen famines, with an estimated mortality reaching the awful total of from 15,000,000 to 26,000,000. And this does not include the many more millions (over 6,000,000 in a single year) kept alive by government doles.

As a matter of fact famines are really perpetual in India. They exist when they are not reported by the Government at all, and when the world knows nothing of their existence. Even when the rains are plentiful and



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crops are good, there is always famine somewhere in the land, taking its toll of thousands and even millions of human lives, of which we read nothing in any Government statement, and of which we know only when we see it with our own eyes. Millions of the people of India who are reported by the British Government as dying of fever, dysentery and other similar diseases, really perish as the result of emaciation from this long and terrible lack of food, this endless starvation. Where epidemics appear, such as plague and influenza, depletion from life-long starvation is the main cause of the terrible mortality.

VI

What is the explanation of all this terrible and persistent famine, seen and unseen,—this famine, part of it reported under its true name, part under some other name, but most of it not reported at all?

The common answer is, the failure of the rains. But there seems to be no evidence that the rains fail now any oftener or in greater extent than they did a hundred years ago. Moreover, why should failure of rains bring famine? It is a matter of indisputable fact that the rains have never failed in India over



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areas so extensive as to prevent the production of ample food for the entire population. Why then, have the people starved? Never because there was any real lack of food. Never because there was any lack of food even in the famine areas, brought by railways or otherwise within easy reach of all. There has always been plenty of food raised in India, even in the worst famine years, for those who had money to buy it with. And until during the world-war, the price of food in India has been quite moderate. This is the report of two different British Commissions that have carefully investigated the matter. Why then, have all these millions of people died for want of food?

Because they were so indescribably poor. All candid and thorough investigation into the causes of the famines of India has shown that the chief and fundamental cause has been and is the poverty of the people—a poverty so severe and terrible that it keeps the entire population on the very verge of starvation even in the years of greatest plenty, prevents them from laying up anything against times of extremity, and hence leaves them when their crops fail, absolutely undone—with nothing between them and death unless some form of charity comes to their aid. Says Sir Charles



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Elliott, long the Chief Commissioner of Assam, "Half the agricultural population do not know from one half-year's end to another what it is to have a full meal." Said the Honorable G. K. Gokhale, one of the Viceroy's Council, "From 60,000,000 to 70,000,000 of the people in India do not know what it is to have their hunger satisfied even once in a year."

Nor does there seem to be any improvement. Indeed, Mahatma Gandhi and the Rev. C. F. Andrews, witnesses of the most competent and trustworthy character, have both recently given it as their judgment that to-day the people of India are growing steadily poorer.

VII

Here we get a glimpse of the real India. It is not the India which the usual traveller sees, following the common routes of travel, stopping at the leading hotels conducted after the manner of London or Paris, and mingling with the English lords of the country. It is not the India to which the British "point with pride" and tell us about in their books of description and their commercial reports. But this is India from the inside, it is the India of the Indian people, of the men, women



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and children to whom the country of right belongs, who pay the taxes and bear the burdens, and support the costly government carried on by foreigners. It is the India of the men, women and children who do the starving when the famine comes. It is the India of the men and women who are now struggling for their independence, as their only hope of ever getting rid of the exploitation of their country, and therefore of their poverty and misery.

What causes this awful and growing poverty of the Indian people? Said John Bright: "If a country be found possessing a most fertile soil and capable of bearing every variety of production, yet notwithstanding, the people are in a state of extreme destitution and suffering, the chances are there is some fundamental error in the government of that country."

VIII

One cause of India's impoverishment is heavy taxation. Taxation in England and Scotland is high, so high that Englishmen and Scotchmen complain bitterly even in normal times, times of peace. But the people of India are taxed more than twice as heavily as the



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people of England and more than three times as heavily as Scotland. Said Mr. Cathcart Watson, M. P., in the British House of Commons, "We know that the percentage of the taxes in India, as related to the gross product, is more than double that of any other country." But high taxation in such countries as Scotland and England and America does not cause a tithe of the suffering that it does in India, because the incomes of the people in these countries are so very much greater than are the incomes of the Indian people. Herbert Spencer in his day protested indignantly against "the pitiless taxation which wrings from the poor Indian ryots nearly half the product of their soil." Yet the taxation now is higher than in Spencer's day. No matter how great the distress, taxes go up and up.

Notice a single item, the tax on salt. All civilized nations recognise that salt is one of the last things in the world that should be taxed in any country, for two reasons; first, because it is everywhere a "necessity of life" and therefore nothing should be done to deprive the people of a proper quantity of it; and second, because in the very nature of the case a tax on it falls most heavily on the very poor. But it is a tax which is easily



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collected, and which if fixed high is sure to produce a large revenue, because everybody must have salt or die. And so it has been the fixed policy of Government to impose a heavy salt tax upon the Indian people. During much of the past this tax has been so high as actually to compel the reduction of the quantity of salt consumed by the impoverished millions of the country to less than one half the amount declared by the medical authorities to be necessary for health. And now what do we see? In 1922, in spite of the health requirements of the country, and in the face of the most earnest protest of practically the whole Indian nation, the Government (heralded to the world as a "Reform" Government) actually doubled the salt tax.

IX

Another cause of India's impoverishment is the destruction of her manufactures as a result of British rule. When the British first appeared on the scene, India was one of the richest countries of the world; indeed, it was her great riches that attracted the British to her shores. The source of her wealth was largely her splendid manufactures. Her cotton goods, silk goods, shawls, muslins of Dacca,



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brocades of Ahmedabad, rugs, pottery of Scind, jewelry, metal work, and lapidary work, were famed not only all over Asia, but in all the leading markets of North Africa and Europe. What has become of those manufactures ? For the most part they are utterly gone, destroyed. Hundreds of villages and towns of India in which these industries were carried on are now wholly depopulated, and millions of the people who were supported by this work have been scattered and driven back on the land, to share the already too scanty living of the poor ryot. What is the explanation ? Great Britain wanted India's markets. She could not find entrance for British manufactures so long as India was supplied with manufactures of her own. So those of India must be sacrificed. England had all power in her hands, and so she proceeded to pass tariff and excise laws that ruined the manufactures of India and secured this market for the manufactures of Manchester and Birmingham. India could not retaliate with counter tariff laws, because she was at the mercy of the conqueror.

X

A third cause of India's impoverishment is the enormous and wholly unnecessary cost of



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her government. Writers in discussing the financial situation in India have often pointed out the fact that her Government is the most expensive in the world. Of course the reason is plain: it is because it is a government carried on by men from a distant country, not by the people of the soil. These foreigners, having all power in their own hands, including power to create such offices as they choose and to attach to them such salaries as they see fit, naturally do not err on the side of making the offices too few, or the salaries and pensions too small. Nearly all the higher officials throughout India are British. To be sure, the Civil Service is nominally open to Indians. But it is hedged about with so many restrictions (among others, Indian young men being required to make the journey of seven thousand miles to London to take their examinations), that Indians are able for the most part to secure only the lowest and poorest places. The amount of money which the Indian people are required to pay as salaries to this great army of foreign civil servants and appointed higher officials, and then, later, as pensions for the same after they have served a given number of years in India, is very large. That in three-fourths if not in nine-tenths of the positions,



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quite as good service, and often much better, could be obtained for the government at a fraction of the present cost, by employing educated and competent Indians, who much better understand the wants of the country, is demonstrably and incontrovertibly true. But that would not serve the purpose of England, who wants these lucrative offices for her sons. Hence poor Indian ryots must sweat and starve by the million, that an ever-growing army of foreign officials may have large salaries and fat pensions. And of course much of the money paid for these salaries and practically all paid for the pensions, goes permanently out of India.

XI

Another burden on the people of India which they ought not to be compelled to bear, and which does much to increase their poverty, is the enormously heavy military expense of the government. I am not complaining of the maintenance of such an army as may be necessary for the defence of the country. But the Indian army is kept at a strength much beyond what any possible defence of the country requires. India is made a sort of general rendezvous and training camp for the Empire,



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from which soldiers may at any time be drawn for service in distant lands—in many parts of Asia, in Africa, in the islands of the sea, and even in Europe. If such an imperial training-camp and rendezvous is believed to be necessary, a part at least of its heavy expense should come from the Imperial Treasury. But no! India is helpless. She can be compelled to pay the whole amount, and she is so compelled. Many English statesmen recognize the injustice of this, and condemn it, but it goes right on. Said Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman : “Justice demands that England should pay a portion of the cost of the great Indian army maintained in India for Imperial rather than Indian purposes. This has not yet been done, and famine-stricken India is being bled for the maintenance of England’s world-wide Empire.”

Again, numerous wars and campaigns are carried on outside of India, expense for the conduct of which, wholly or in large part, India is compelled to bear. For such foreign wars and campaigns—in which India and the Indian people of India had no concern, from which they derived no benefit, the aim of which was solely conquest and extension of British power—India was required to pay during the last



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century the enormous total of more than \$450,000,000. This does not include her expenditures in connection with the war in Europe in 1914-18. Toward the maintenance of that war India contributed 1,401,350 men—combatants and non-combatants. (These are official figures). She also paid—was compelled to pay, despite her awful poverty—the terrible sum of £ 100,000,000 (\$ 500,000,000). This was announced to the world as a 'gift,' but it was a gift only in name. As a matter of fact it was forced, coerced, wrung from the Indian people, as all India knows to its sorrow. Nor was this sum all, as the world generally supposes. Other sums were contributed from India (under pressure, virtual compulsion) in different forms, under different names, all taken together, totalling—it is claimed—almost another \$ 500,000,000. How many such burdens as these can the people of India, bear without being destroyed?

XII

England claims that India pays her no "tribute." Technically this is true; but in reality it is very far from true. In the form of salaries spent largely in England, and pensions spent wholly there, interest drawn in



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England from Indian investments, "profits" made in India and sent "Home," and various forms of "exploitation" carried on in India for the benefit of Englishmen and England, a vast stream of wealth (whether it is called tribute or not) has been pouring into England from India ever since the East India Company landed there some three hundred years ago, and is going on still with steadily increasing volume. Says Mr. R. C. Dutt, author of the "Economic History of India" (than whom there is no higher authority) "A sum reckoned at twenty millions of English money or a hundred millions of American money—some authorities put it much higher—is remitted annually from India to England without any direct equivalent. It should be borne in mind that this sum is equal to half the net revenues of India. Note this carefully—one-half of what we here in India pay every year in taxes goes out of the country and is of no further service to those who have paid this tax. No other country on earth suffers like this at the present day. No country on earth could bear such an annual drain without increasing impoverishment and repeated famines." We denounce ancient Rome for impoverishing Gaul and Egypt, Sicily and



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Palestine, to enrich herself. We denounce Spain for robbing the New World and the Netherlands to amass wealth. England is following exactly the same practice in India. Is it strange that under her rule she has made India a land of wide-spread and continuous famine?

XIII

But India's poverty, terrible as it is, is only a part of the wrong done to her by England. The greatest injustice of all is the loss of her liberty—the fact that she is allowed no part in shaping her own destiny. As we have seen, Canada and Australia are free and self-governing. India is kept in absolute subjection. Yet her people are largely of Aryan blood, the finest race in Asia. There are not wanting men among them, men in great numbers, who are the equals of their British masters in knowledge, ability, trustworthiness, in every high quality. Not only is such treatment of such a people tyranny in its worst form (as many Englishmen are gradually coming to realize) but it is a direct and complete violation of all those ideals of freedom and justice of which England boasts and in which Englishmen profess to believe,



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It is also really a most short-sighted policy as regards England's own interests. It is the kind of policy which cost her the American colonies, and later came near to costing her Canada, as well. If persisted in, it must cost her India also.

XIV

What is the remedy for the evils and burdens under which the Indian people are suffering? How may they be relieved from their abject and growing poverty? How can they be given prosperity, happiness and content?

Many answers are suggested. One is—lighter taxes. This of course is important; it is, indeed, vital. But how can it be brought about so long as the people have no power to change in the slightest degree the cruel tax laws from which they suffer? The Government wants these heavy taxes for its own uses, and is constantly increasing the rates. The protests of the people fall on deaf ears. Taxes were never so high as they are now. Under the Government's so-called "New Reform Scheme" they are not lowered, but increased.

Another remedy suggested for India's



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suffering is that of enacting such legislation and inaugurating such measures as may be found necessary to restore as far as possible the native industries which have been destroyed. This is exactly what India would like, and would bring about if she had power—if she had self-rule; but will an alien government, one which has itself destroyed these industries for its own advantage, ever do this? Another remedy proposed is to reduce the unnecessary and illegitimate military expenses. This is easy to say, and of course is most reasonable. But how can it be brought about so long as the Government insists on such expenditures, and the people have no power to order the contrary?

Another thing urged is to stop the drain of wealth by England. But how can a single step be taken in this direction of stopping it, so long as absolutely all power is in the hands of the very men who created the drain, who are enriched by it, and who are determined to continue it?

It all comes back to this:—The fundamental difficulty, the fundamental evil, the fundamental wrong, lies in the fact that India is a subject land, politically a slave land, ruled by foreigners. It is for this reason that she is



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unable to guard her own interests, unable to protect herself against unjust laws, unable to inaugurate those measures for her own advancement which must always come from those immediately concerned.

XV

In other words, the only remedy for India's wrongs, her economic ills and her political degradation is that which in all ages of the world and in all lands has been found to be the only possible remedy for the evils of foreign rule, and that is, the self-rule, which India is demanding. England knows this, and would perish before she would permit any foreign nation to rule her. Every nation in Europe knows it and hence every one would fight to the death before it would surrender its freedom and independence. Canada, Australia, and New England know it; therefore, although they are all children of Great Britain, not one of them would consent to remain in the British Empire unless permitted absolute freedom to make and administer its own laws, and therefore to protect itself and shape its own destiny.

Here lies India's only hope. She must become an absolutely independent nation with no connection with Great Britain, or else remain



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ning in the Empire, she must be given the place of a real partner (not that of a subordinate under a partner's name),—a place of as true freedom and of as perfect equality with the other partners in the Empire, as that of Australia, or New Zealand, or South Africa, or Canada.

We have now before us the data for understanding, in a measure at least, the meaning of India's struggle for freedom (for Swaraj, to use her own word), as that struggle presents itself to one who has studied it long and with care and who is a warm and sincere friend both of India and Great Britain. As he sees the struggle, it means the normal, necessary and just awakening and protest of a great people too long held in subjection. It is the effort of a nation once illustrious and still conscious of its inherent superiority, to rise from the dust, to stand once more upon its feet, to shake off fetters that have become unendurable. It is the endeavor of the Indian people to get for themselves again a country that in a true sense will be their own, instead of remaining—as for more than a century and a half it has been, a mere preserve of a foreign power—in John Stuart Mill's words, England's "cattle farm."



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Is this endeavor just? Not only the Indian people themselves, but many of the best Englishmen and certainly many Americans, answer unequivocally, Yes !



CHAPTER II

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA ?

WHY, in this age of the world, does any one for a moment question the right of any civilized nation to rule itself? And how can any intelligent mind believe that any civilized nation can be ruled better by strangers and foreigners than by its own people? To be more specific, why, in an age of enlightenment and freedom like ours, is the right and ability of great, civilized, historic India to rule itself, questioned by anybody?

Does any one doubt the right and ability of America to govern itself? or England? or France? or Russia? or Japan? or China? Then why India, whose civilization is far older than that of any of these nations, except possibly China, and which has ruled itself longer than any other unless it be China? Are not freedom and self-government the right of every civilised people? And in the very



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nature of the case is not every civilised people far better able to govern itself than any other can possibly be to govern it ?

I

Who is it that says the Indian people are not capable of self-government ? Is it the Indian people themselves ? No. They declare the contrary. They say they have proved by more than three thousand years of history their ability to rule themselves. Is it any friendly neighboring people who have had long association and dealings with them, and who therefore can judge with intelligence and reasonable fairness ? Not at all. No neighbouring nation, so far as is known, doubts their fitness for self-government. Is it an authoritative commission of intelligent, impartial and competent men selected from different disinterested nations, who have visited India, studied conditions there in all parts of the land, acquainted themselves thoroughly with the Indian people, their history, their civilization, their character, their ability, what they have done in the past and their needs to-day ? Oh no !

Who is it, then, that presumes to declare anything so improbable, so unreasonable, so



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contrary to the whole experience of mankind, as that a great historic, civilized nation, compared with which all the nations of Europe are parvenus, is incapable of self-rule, and needs to be governed by strangers coming from the other side of the world ?

The nation that declares this, is the one which, of all the nations in the world, is the least capable of judging fairly and justly in the matter, because it is an interested, a deeply interested, party. It is the nation which, some two centuries ago, not by right, but by force of arms, and for selfish ends, conquered the Indian people, and ever since has been holding them in subjection, because thus she secured and continues to possess increased political power and prestige in the world, large commercial and industrial advantage, much financial profit, and high and lucrative official positions, with fat pensions, for her sons. It is this nation (which rules India and is so deeply interested to continue her rule) that tells the world that the Indian people are incapable of ruling themselves. But, pray, what else can she be expected to tell the world ? How else can she justify herself for staying in India ?

This testimony, then, of a deeply interest-



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ed, and therefore of course a deeply prejudiced party, is the evidence we have, and practically all we have, that India is not capable of self-rule.

II

On what *principle* or by what *test* is India adjudged unfit for self-rule? We declare individual persons unfit to govern themselves only for one of four reasons, namely, (1) if they are minors, or (2) if they are idiots, or (3) if they are insane, or (4) if they are criminals. Let us apply these tests to India.

1. Are the Indian people minors? Can we call those people minors who have the oldest civilization on earth as their heritage?

2. Are the Indian people idiots? Mr. H. G. Wells, himself an Englishman, tells us that of the six greatest men in the entire history of this world, India has produced two—Gautama Buddha and the great Buddhist Emperor Asoka. Does this look like idiocy?

3. Are the Indian people insane? Nobody says that. An idiotic nation does not produce Buddhas and Asokas and Rabindranath Tagores.

4. Are the people of India criminals? On the contrary, they are as law-abiding as any



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nation in the world ; indeed they are probably the *most* law-abiding great nation in existence. India's crime record, in proportion to her population, is distinctly lower than that of Great Britain, or that of any large nation on the Continent of Europe, and much lower than that of the United States.

If a nation which can stand these four tests is not fit to rule itself, what nation is ?

It would seem as if the only reason anybody could possibly suggest why India ought not to be permitted to rule itself might be, that, with so large a population, it might be dangerous to smaller and weaker nations, by attacking and conquering them, or by aggressions upon them. But history shows that India has always been the least aggressive of nations. No other great nation, unless it may be China, has ever done so little in the way of attacking other peoples or carrying on wars outside of its own borders. There is ten times more reason to fear England's aggressions, or France's, or Russia's, or Italy's—in view of the past history of these nations. Indeed there is much more reason to fear America's, in view of our past history in connection with Mexico and the Philippines and the Central American States.



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III

Said Abraham Lincoln: "There never was a people good enough to govern another people."

Is Great Britain an exception? Does she manage her own government so supremely well that she is entitled to undertake the political management of other nations? Then what mean her frequent upsetting of parties, and changes of ministries, and appeals to the electorate, with the hope of correcting past legislative and administrative mistakes and getting a wiser government? Are a people who at home thus "muddle along," groping their way blindly in political matters, and committing what they themselves confess are blunders on blunders, likely to become wise and skilled when they undertake to conduct the complicated political affairs of a distant foreign nation, about whose affairs and needs they are ten times more ignorant than they are about those of their own land?

If the men sent by England to India, to rule there, to fill all the chief government positions, national and provincial, to make and administer the laws, and to do all those things which the rulers of a great country are required to do, were superior to the Indian leaders who



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are available for the same places and to do the same work, then there would be some excuse (or at least a greater approximation to an excuse) for British rule in India.

But while it is true that some of the Englishmen who go to India are excellent and able men, equal (but not superior) to the Indians with whom they are to be associated, it is also true that many of them are distinctly inferior. Largely they are the sons of well-to-do fathers who want "careers" for their boys, and who choose India because the service there is honorable and lucrative, and is made additionally attractive by its short duration (24 years, 4 of which may be spent on leave of absence) followed by large pensions for the rest of life.

Generally these prospective India officials come to India young, often very young, only just out of college, and enter at once upon the responsibilities of managing the affairs of a great foreign nation of which they know almost absolutely nothing. They are saved from utter disaster only by the fact that under them are placed efficient Indians who help them in their ignorance and do what they can to prevent fatal blunders.

It is the commonest thing to see Indian



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scholars and officials of confessedly very high ability, of very fine training and of long experience, serving under these ignorant young Englishmen, who get all the honor, and draw salaries three or four times as large as any of their subordinates, and yet who in England would not be thought fit to fill a government or a business position above the second or even third class.

The fact is (the world is not allowed to know it, but the people of India know it to their sorrow) the ignorance concerning India of the ordinary Englishman who comes there to manage the vast, intricate and immensely important affairs of the Indian nation, would be in the highest degree ludicrous if it were not shocking.

IV

Englishmen themselves confess this. Sir Bamfylde Fuller, long a high official in India, declares in his book, "Studies of Indian Life and Sentiment": "Young British officials go out to India most imperfectly equipped for their responsibilities. They learn no law worth the name, a little Indian history, no political economy, and gain a smattering of one Indian vernacular. In regard to other branches of



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the service, matters are still more unsatisfactory. Young men who are to be police officers are sent out with no training whatever, though for the proper discharge of their duties an intimate acquaintance with Indian life and ideas is essential. They land in India in absolute ignorance of the language. So also with forest officers, medical officers, engineers, and (still more surprising) educational officers ... It is hardly too much to say that this is an insult to the intelligence of the country."

There are few English officials of any rank, no matter how long they stay in India, who ever get a good knowledge of any Indian tongue. Even the Viceroys, as a rule, know no native language when they go to India, and seldom during their stay do they acquire anything more than the merest smattering of any. Such contact with the people as they have is mostly second-hand, through English subordinates or through Indians who speak English.

Says, *The Pioneer*, of Allahabad, which is perhaps the leading British organ in Northern India, and which therefore can be trusted not to put the case against the British too strongly: "It may be affirmed, without fear of contradiction, that there are less than